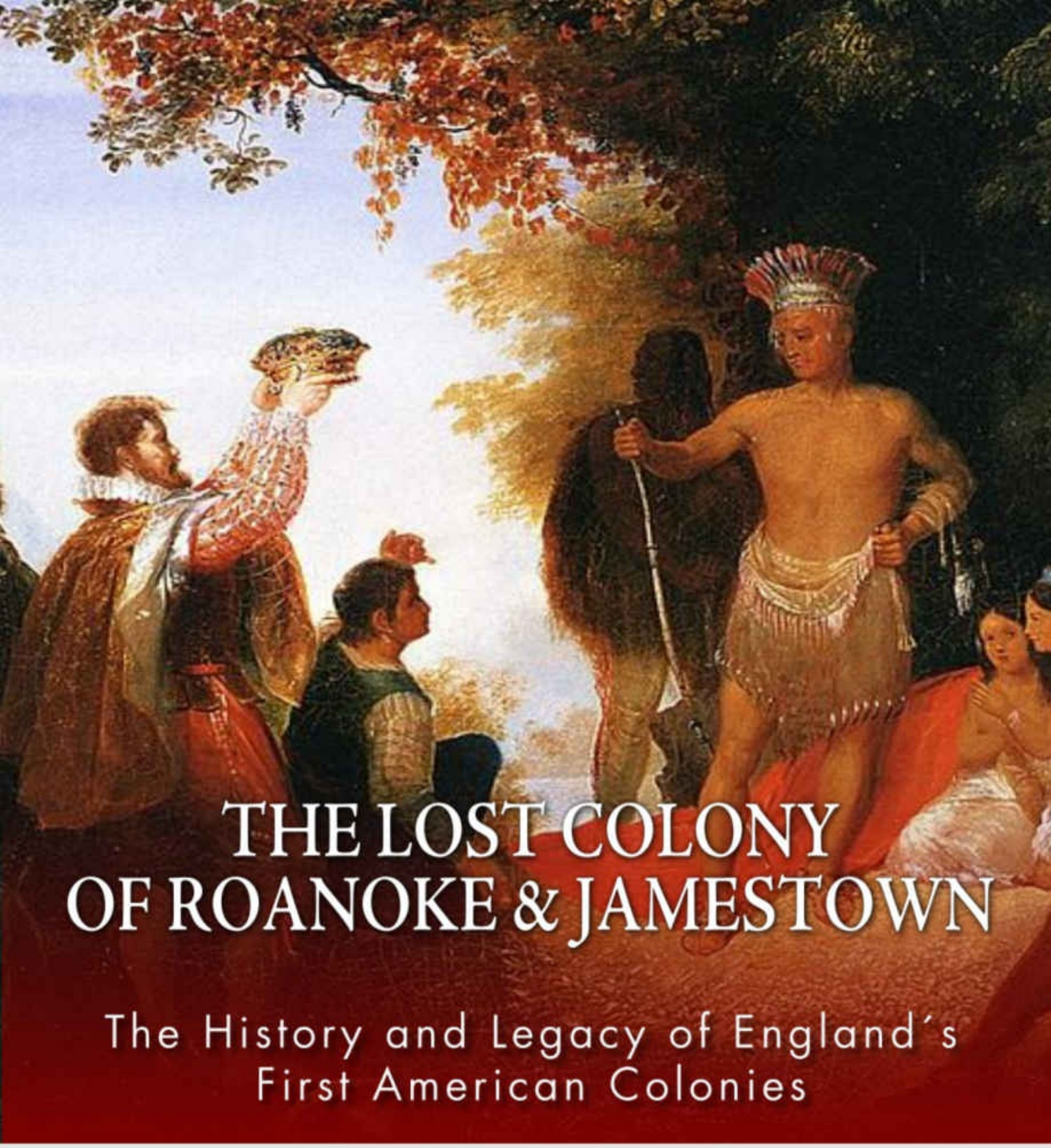
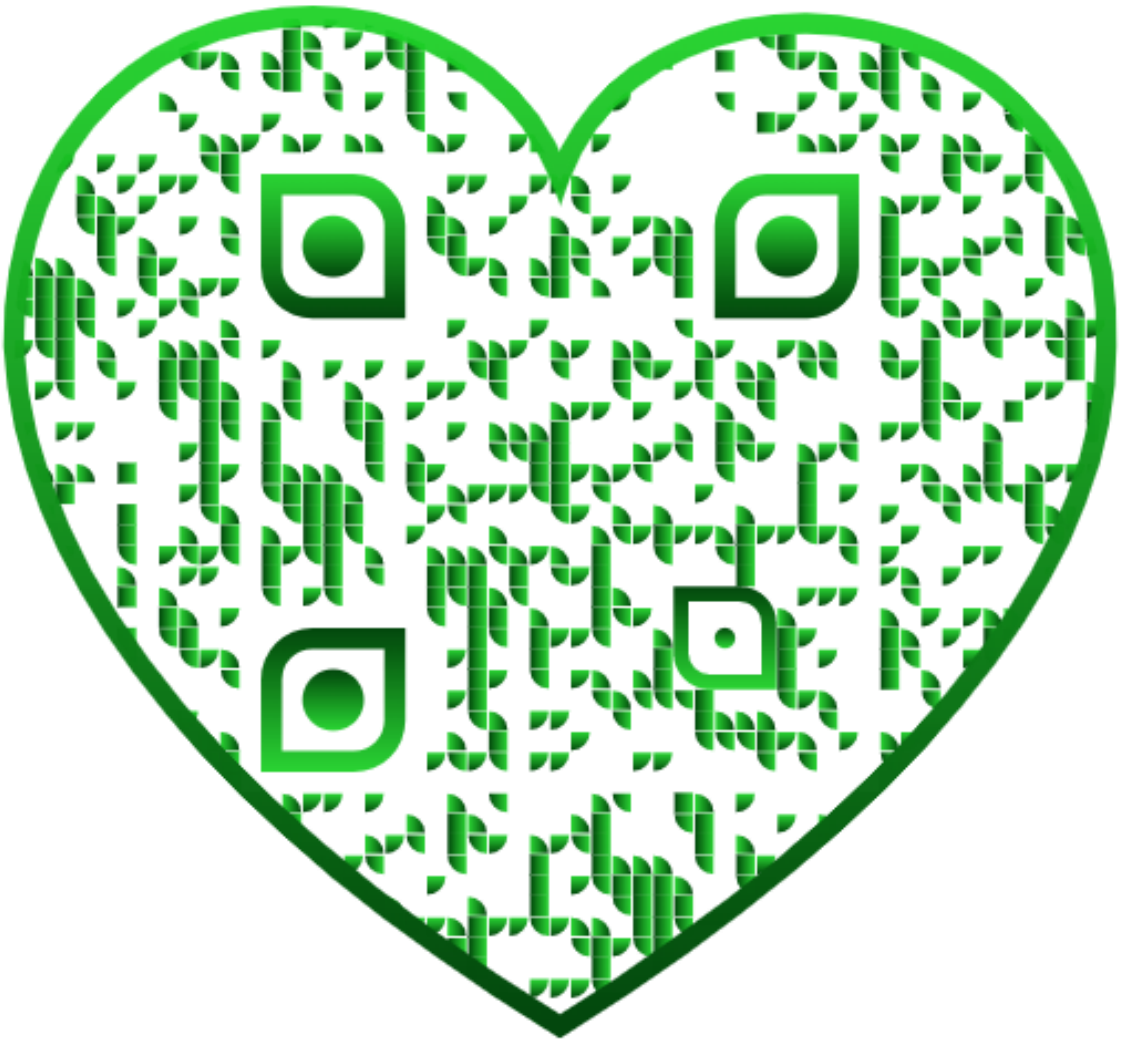


THE LOST COLONY OF ROANOKE & JAMESTOWN

The History and Legacy of England's First American Colonies

by

CHARLES RIVER EDITORS



The Lost Colony of Roanoke and Jamestown: The History and Legacy of England's First American Colonies

By Charles River Editors

Statue of John Smith in Jamestown

About Charles River Editors

Charles River Editors was founded by Harvard and MIT alumni to provide superior editing and original writing services, with the expertise to create digital content for publishers across a vast range of subject matter. In addition to providing original digital content for third party publishers, Charles River Editors republishes civilization's greatest literary works, bringing them to a new generation via ebooks.

Sign up here to receive updates about free books as we publish them, and visit Our Kindle Author Page to browse today's free promotions and our most recently published Kindle titles.

Introduction

A depiction of the discovery of the word “Croatoan”

Roanoke Island

"The first Discovery and Settlement of this Country was by the Procurement of Sir Walter Raleigh, in Conjunction with some publick-spirited Gentlemen of that Age, under the Protection of Queen Elizabeth; for which Reason it was then named Virginia, being begun on that Part called Ronoak-Island, where the Ruins of a Fort are to be seen at this day, as well as some old English Coins which have been lately found; and a Brass-Gun, a Powder-Horn, and one small Quarter deck-Gun, made of Iron Staves, and hoop'd with the same Metal; which Method of making Guns might very probably be made use of in those Days, for the Convenience of Infant-Colonies." – John Lawson

Nearly 20 years before Jamestown was settled, the English established one of the earliest colonies in North America around the Chesapeake Bay region, until the colony had over 100 inhabitants. Like other early settlements, Roanoke struggled to survive in its infancy, to the extent that the colony’s leader, John White, sailed back to England in 1587 in an effort to bring more supplies and help. However, the attempts to bring back supplies were thwarted by the Spanish in the midst of the Anglo-Spanish War going on at

the time, and it was not until 1590 that White reached Roanoke again.

What White found when he came back to Roanoke led to one of the most enduring mysteries in American history. Despite the fact he had left over 100 people in Roanoke in 1587, White returned to literally nothing, with all traces of the settlement gone and no evidence of fighting or anything else that might have explained the disappearance of the inhabitants. White found the word “Croatoan” carved on a tree nearby, which he figured might mean the colonists moved to a nearby island, but he was unable to conduct a search expedition there. The Spanish also searched for the colony in hopes of wiping it out themselves, but none of the Europeans could find Roanoke’s colonists or explain what happened to the “lost” colony.

The fate of Roanoke has fascinated people for over 400 years, and there is no shortage of theories regarding the disappearance of the colony. In addition to the possibility that the settlers moved to Croatoan Island, most theories speculate that they were either wiped out by nearby Native Americans or assimilated among a tribe; as historian John Lawson put it, "A farther Confirmation of this we have from the Hatteras Indians, who either then lived on Ronoak-Island, or much frequented it. These tell us, that several of their Ancestors were white People, and could talk in a Book, as we do; the Truth of which is confirm'd by gray Eyes being found frequently amongst these Indians, and no others. They value themselves extremely for their Affinity to the English, and are ready to do them all friendly Offices.” Regardless, the murky chain of events have ensured that the mystery still lingers.

The Lost Colony of Roanoke and Jamestown comprehensively analyzes the history of the settlement and discusses the mysteries surrounding its disappearance. Along with pictures and a bibliography, you will learn about Roanoke like you never have before.

Silver dollar commemorating the 400th anniversary of Jamestown

Jamestown

"When you send againe I entreat you rather send but thirty Carpenters, husbandmen, gardiners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons and diggers up of trees, roots, well provided; than a thousand of such as wee have: for except wee be able both to lodge them and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for anything." – John Smith

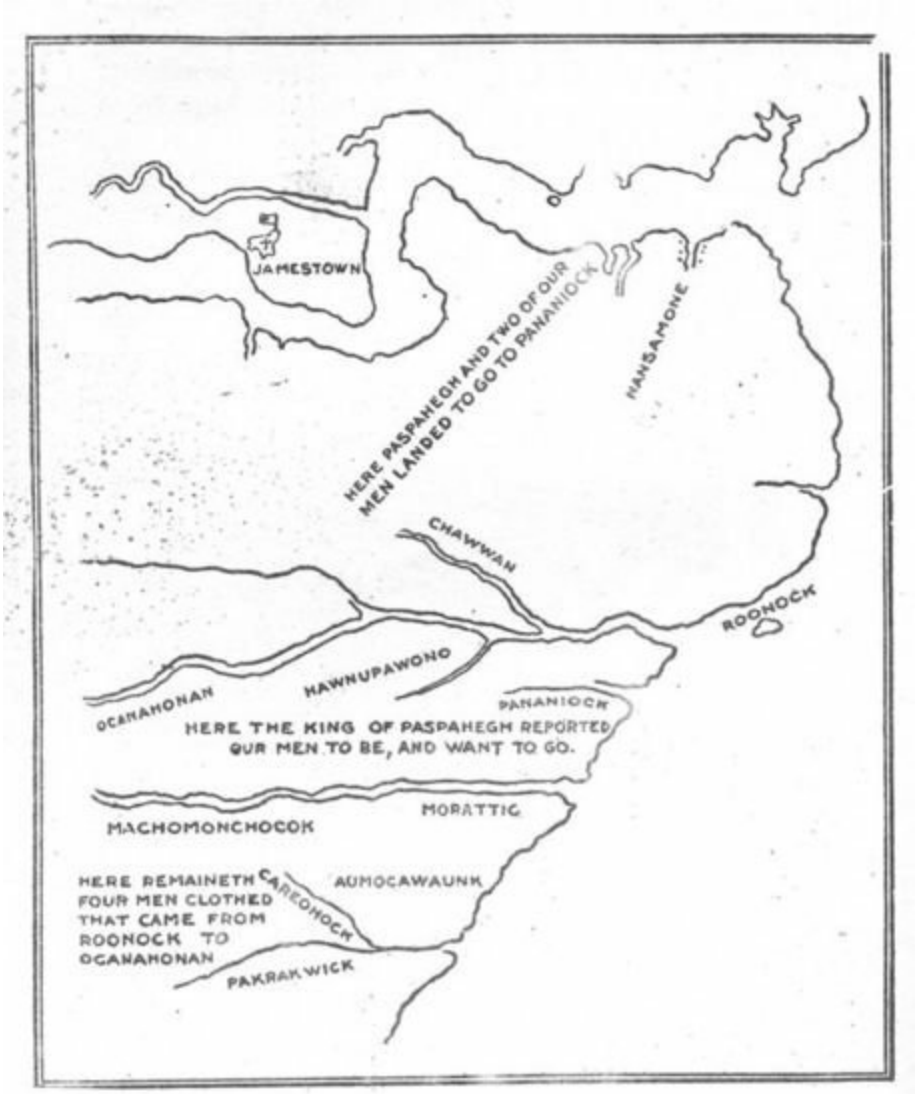
John Smith is one of the most common names in the English language and akin to the use of John Doe, but every Briton and American is familiar with the explorer and mercenary Captain John Smith, who helped found the first permanent English colony in the New World at Jamestown in 1607. Jamestown is fondly remembered today for being the first permanent English settlement in the colonies, but it was not fondly remembered by those who lived and died there. The English quickly learned it would be difficult to

establish a permanent settlement because of the poor weather, the swampy terrain, the hostile natives living nearby, and the general inexperience and ineptitude of the English settlers. During their first winter, everyone nearly starved, and more than half of the settlers died. By the end of the winter of 1609-1610, known as the “starving time”, barely 10% of the settlers were still alive.

Nevertheless, Jamestown is remembered today because the settlement did survive through the hardships and go on to serve as the capital of the English colony for much of the 17th century. At the same time, one of the biggest reasons for its survival and fame today can be attributed to the local Native Americans, particularly Pocahontas, who has added both a human and romanticized, mythological element to Jamestown. She was the daughter of the paramount chief (mamanatowick) Powhatan, leader of an Algonquian-speaking native group in eastern Virginia. It was this group that Smith and the other English settlers came into contact with, and Smith credited her with saving him from being killed by the Native Americans. After that, Smith was able to establish relatively friendly relations and trade with the local inhabitants, ensuring Jamestown’s survival.

Jamestown has often been cast as the backdrop of this unique relationship, one that the colonists sought to portray as representative of relations with Native Americans. Subsequent retellings of the story have often fictitiously cast Smith and Pocahontas lovers and even husband and wife, portraying both characters in a more romantic and positive light. While their relationship has been the subject of countless historical texts and even children’s books, it has no historical basis in fact, and there is still even some doubt over whether she saved Smith’s life in the famous encounter that has ensured her name remains instantly recognizable nearly 400 years after her death.

The Lost Colony of Roanoke and Jamestown comprehensively analyzes the history of the settlement and its famous inhabitants. Along with pictures and a bibliography, you will learn about Jamestown like you never have before, in no time at all.



The Francis Nelson, or "Zuniga," Map

A 1607 map of the region shows the locations of Jamestown and the lost colony of Roanoke

[The Lost Colony of Roanoke and Jamestown: The History and Legacy of England's First American Colonies]

[About Charles River Editors]

[Introduction]

[Chapter 1: A Spanish Virginia?]

Chapter 2: The Exploration of Roanoke
Chapter 3: The First Colonization of Roanoke
Chapter 4: The Second Colonization of Roanoke
Chapter 5: The Lost Colony
Chapter 6: Founding Jamestown
Chapter 7: Pocahontas and the Powhatan
Chapter 8: Boom and Bust
Chapter 9: Stabilizing the Situation
Bibliography

Chapter 1: A Spanish Virginia?

Jamestown would become the first permanent English colony in North America when it was founded in 1607, but the English were not the first to attempt a settlement in the area that would become the colony of Virginia, and the activities that took place before the arrival of the English had a critical influence on the fate of English settlements there. In 1561, a Spanish ship was blown off course from their location along the coast of present-day South Carolina, and when the crew were able to get their bearings, they found themselves near a bay that they named the Bahia Santa Maria (which the English would subsequently call Chesapeake Bay). The Spanish made their way to the southern shore, where the crew found "many fine harbors," as well as lush vegetation and friendly Native Americans (Horn, p.1). The ship's captain, Antonio Velazquez, even took two Native Americans on board, and after exploring a bit of the area, the ship returned home.

Once Velazquez landed in Spain, he made his way to Madrid, where he planned to present one of the two Native Americans, a boy named Paquiquineo (renamed Don Luis by the Spanish after the viceroy of Mexico) to King Philip II. Don Luis would become one of Philip's favorites at court, but after about a year in Spain, Don Luis began to speak of a desire to return home, and eventually Philip granted him permission to return to the Chesapeake. Don Luis, accompanied by Velazquez, sailed first to Mexico City to meet the viceroy, and when they arrived, it was decided that Don Luis would travel overland to his home in the region of Cheapeake Bay. Unfortunately, Don Luis became seriously ill during his stay in Mexico City, so he was sent to a Dominican convent to recuperate. As he recovered from the illness, he was baptized and then chose to stay at the convent to learn the Catholic faith. Don Luis remained in Mexico City for several years, but he eventually asked once more to return home, where he stated his desire to establish a Catholic mission. This idea of starting a mission in his homeland overlapped with Spanish desires to establish a colony in North America, and with the help of Pedro Menendez de Aviles, the captain-general of the Indies convoys, plans were made to establish the mission in the Chesapeake.

Unfortunately, the ships Menendez sent for the colonial venture failed to find the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, and rather than continuing to search for

the entrance to Don Luis' homeland, the fleet instead returned to Spain. Back in Spain once more, Don Luis lived with a group of Jesuits in the town of Seville, and during his stay, he heard many stories of the Jesuits' failures in their attempts to convert Native Americans in North America to Catholicism. Realizing the opportunity that was being presented to him, Don Luis offered once more to lead an expedition to start a mission in the Chesapeake region. The Jesuits accepted this offer, and Don Luis was sent to Havana in 1570. From there he planned once again with Menendez, as well as the vice-provincial of the Jesuit order in Florida, Father Juan de Segura, for an expedition to Chesapeake Bay. Father Segura believed that God had sent Don Luis to him to aid in the conversion of North America's natives, and so in September of 1570, Father Segura and seven other Spaniards set off for Chesapeake Bay.

Upon landing at Chesapeake Bay, the Spaniards quickly began constructing their mission, which was situated roughly 20 miles up the James River near a Kiskiack village whose inhabitants Don Luis described as "subjects" of his family. In describing the area surrounding their new mission, the Spanish said, "We find the land of Don Luis in quite another condition than we expected, not because he was at fault in his description of it, but because Our Lord has chastised it with six years of famine and death, which has brought it about that there is much less population than usual." (Horn, p.6)

The Jesuits had landed in the region during a period of drought and famine, but because of the presence of Don Luis, the neighboring Native Americans treated them in a friendly manner. This would quickly change, however, when Don Luis abandoned the mission shortly after their arrival and instead chose to live in the village of a relative roughly 30-40 miles away. One account of the mission, written by Brother Juan de la Carrera, described Don Luis as "the wretched native" who was "a second Judas." Don Luis began acting "more like a pagan than a Christian in his manners, dress, and habits," and he "went off and lived with his uncle, a chief, in a country far distant from ours. There he allowed himself free reign in his sins, marrying many women in a pagan way." (Horn, p.7) Although it is unclear what Don Luis' motives were, Carrera's account suggests that he had fooled the Spanish by adopting Spanish and Catholic ways purely in an attempt to return home.

With environmental difficulties plaguing the new mission, the winter months saw the Spaniards there rationing their remaining supplies, attempting to forage for food in the forest, and trading their metal goods for corn. Father Segura tried to get Don Luis to return to the mission, reminding him that they had come to the region because of him and that they could not go about converting the natives without him. Additionally, Father Segura criticized the "shameful" life he was now leading. However, Segura's criticism likely accomplished nothing but further angering Don Luis, who by this time had been adopted as one of his people's leaders. In February 1571, when Father Segura sent three Spaniards to ask for Don Luis to return once again, Don Luis decided to attack the men, killing two of them himself. He then gathered a war party that attacked the mission itself, killing Father Segura and everyone except a boy named Alonso.

By the summer of 1571, Spanish authorities in Havana had not heard from Father Segura and the missionaries and were becoming concerned about their fate. A supply ship was sent to Chesapeake Bay, where they found no trace of the mission but did see Native Americans wearing "cassocks and religious robes", Spanish missionary clothing. Another group of Native Americans attacked the ship, and when two of the attackers were captured by the crew, they refused to say anything about the mission other than acknowledging that the young boy Alonso was still alive. The next year, an expedition under the personal command of Menendez arrived in Chesapeake Bay, and Menendez, along with 150 soldiers, recovered Alonso and attacked the natives, capturing 13 of them, including "a principal chief" who might have been Don Luis' uncle. Menendez threatened to hang his captives if the natives did not bring him Don Luis, and when Don Luis failed to show up, the Spanish hanged their hostages from the ship's rigging in full view of the Native Americans gathered along the shore. The Spanish then fired their cannons at the natives before leaving to return to Havana.

The actions of the Spanish in the Chesapeake Bay region were important for several reasons. Most importantly, the abandonment of the Spanish from that region provided England an opportunity to settle there themselves; by returning their focus to their territories to the South, the Spanish gave England the opportunity to launch their own colonial ventures in North America. Furthermore, stories of the Spanish encounters with the natives

would be in the minds of every English settler in the region, and ensure that they were fearful of the potential hostility that the Chesapeake Bay natives posed to European explorers and colonists.

Chapter 2: The Exploration of Roanoke

During the late 16th century, England found itself on the periphery of Europe, while Spain, enriched by its New World colonies, was the dominant force on the continent. However, England had Spain's attention at the time because English privateers preyed on Spanish shipping throughout Europe and the New World. While these privateers were often commissioned by the Crown, the Spanish considered them no less than pirates, especially Sir Francis Drake. To the Spanish, “El Draque” (“The Dragon”) was the 16th century’s most notorious pirate; referred to as “the main cause of wars” in one 1592 letter to the Spanish King Phillip II, Drake harassed Spanish ships in several oceans and was so despised by the Spanish that Phillip II placed the equivalent of a 7 million dollar bounty on his head. While Drake was being knighted in England and admired in Queen Elizabeth I’s court, Spanish accounts portrayed him as a captain who attacked and boarded Spanish merchant ships to steal their treasure and made off with it in the kind of haughty and dramatic ways that have become standard fare in pirate lore. El Draque also had no qualms about killing those who refused his requests.

Drake

Philip II of Spain

Of course, Spain was hardly above using privateers and piracy themselves, as one English writer noted: “The Spaniards had carried barbarism to such a pitch in seizing our ships and condemning their crews to the galleys, that Queen Elizabeth was never averse to meeting murder and plunder by more than the equivalent in retaliation.” Furthermore, even if England was not considered one of the foremost powers in Europe at the time, it was the most powerful Protestant nation, which placed it in conflict with Spain, the staunchest defender of Catholicism.

Although England had a history of expeditions to North America by the mid-16th century, they hadn’t been making efforts to colonize the region. Instead, English ships (along with those of other European nations) spent periods of time each summer fishing off the coast of Newfoundland in present day Canada. This was a seasonal activity, however, and there was no sustained European presence in North America yet. Some Englishmen

theorized in the 1580s that England needed colonies of its own to challenge Spain's New World presence in Central and South America, and they also asserted that God had set aside the area north of Florida and south of the St. Lawrence River for England and Protestantism.

In the 1580s, England also intensified its attacks on Spanish fleets that brought New World riches back to Spain. When Spain seized English ships caught in Spanish ports in 1585, an English fleet under Drake's command traveled to the West Indies to retaliate against Spanish shipping. In June of 1586, Drake attacked the Spanish fort at Saint Augustine in Florida, and his actions, along with those of other British sailors, provoked Philip II of Spain to begin planning to invade England. For England, this was the start of a major sea war against Spain that would last until 1604, and throughout those years Queen Elizabeth increased the number of privateers licensed to target Spanish ships, with an estimated 100 per year targeting Spain's treasure fleets. Planning to "singe the beard of the King of Spain," Drake sailed a fleet of British ships into Spanish ports at Cadiz and Corunna, quickly defeating the naval vessels that were supposed to be defending the ports and completely occupying the harbors. In the process, the English sunk more than 35 military and merchant ships, a daring and decisive victory that forced Spain's timeline for attack by a full year. Ultimately, the Spanish Armada launched against England in 1588, only to be one of the most famous failures in military history.

The idea of building an English colony at Roanoke in the 1580s was the work of Sir Walter Raleigh, an English gentleman who had the ear of Queen Elizabeth. The proposed colony would serve two purposes: it would create an English foothold in North America and be a base from which English privateers could launch attacks against Spanish ships. In essence, English colonial policy in the late 16th century was heavily influenced by privateering activity.

Raleigh

Due to Spanish exploration in 1570 and 1571, the Chesapeake was known to Europeans as a great site from which to build a colony, especially because it had sheltered deep-water ports. However, Chesapeake Bay was out of the question for Raleigh and the English, because if it was discovered by the Spanish, a colony based in the Chesapeake would quickly be attacked in reprisal for English privateering activity in the West Indies. Furthermore, the Chesapeake was too far away from the West Indies to be a major English base, and the Spanish Jesuit mission that had been set up in Chesapeake Bay had been destroyed by neighboring Native Americans, giving rise to the belief that the region's indigenous inhabitants were especially fierce and warlike.

As a result, Raleigh's first move was to send an expedition with two ships under the command of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, who left England on April 27, 1584 and took the normal southern route to the New World. To cross the Atlantic, European ships picked up the trade winds off the coast of the Canary Islands and sailed west to the Caribbean before moving up the coast of North America. The expedition sighted North America on July 4th, and they landed off the coast of North Carolina on July 13th. The area in which they landed, known as the Outer Banks, were basically a series of sandbars, but after following an inlet into the waters beyond the Outer Banks, they found Roanoke Island, which was situated between the mainland and the Outer Banks. Amadas and Barlowe, who had been tasked with finding a site suitable for an English colony, were full of enthusiasm for Roanoke Island. Barlowe recounted:

> "...wee viewed the lande about us, being whereas we first landed, very sandie, and lowe towards the water side, but so full of grapes as the very beating and surge of the Sea overflowed them, of which we founde such plentie, as well there, as in all places else, both on the sande, and on the greene soile on the hils, as in the plaines, as well as on the every little shrubbe, as also climbing towardes the toppes of the high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like aboundance is not to be founde...
>
> We passed from the Sea side towards the toppes of those hils next adjoyning, being but of meane heigth, and from thence wee behelde the Sea on both sides to the North, and to the South, finding no ende any of both waies. This lande lay stretching it selfe to the West, which wee found to be but an Island of twentie leagues long, and not above sixe miles broade. Under the banke or hill, whereon we stoode, we behelde the vallies replenished with goodly Cedar trees, and having discharged our haquebushot, such a flocke of Cranes (the most part white) arose under us, with such a crye redoubled by many Ecchoes, as if an armie of men had showted all together." (Durant, p.13)

Their report emphasized the physical attributes of the area that would make it a successful colony for the English, and Barlowe went so far as to compare

the area to the Garden of Eden. However, this account of the area in which the colony of Roanoke would later be established oversold the ease with which a colonial venture could be set up, and Barlowe's account would prove problematic once the future colonists at Roanoke realized the extent of the difficulties that they faced.

Meanwhile, Barlowe also noted that the island within the Outer Banks at which they landed was uninhabited, and that when they did see natives in the area, the natives were quite friendly:

> “We remained by the side of this Island two whole daies, before we sawe any people of the Countrey: the third daye we espied one small boate rowing towards us...and we being all within boord, he walked up and down uppon the point of the lande next unto us: then the Master, and the Pilot of the Admirall, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captaine Philip Amadas, myself [Barlowe], and others, rowed to the lande, whose coming this fellowe attended, nevere making any showe of feare, or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not understoode by us, we brought him with his owne good liking, aboord the shippes, and gave him a shirt, a hatte, and some other things, and made him taste our wine, and our meate, which he liked very well: and after having viewed both barkes he departed and went to his owne boate againe, which hee had left in a little Cove or Creek adjoyning: assoone as hee was tow bowe shoote into the water, hee fell to fishing, and in less than halfe an howre, he had laden his boate as deepe, as it could swimme, with which he came again to the pointe of lande, and there devided his fishe into two partes, poitning one part to the shippe, and the other to the Pinesse: which after he had)as much as he might) requited the former benefits receaved, he departed out of our sight.” (Durant, p.14)

Amadas and Barlowe made contact with the leaders of the coastal Algonquins living in the area, and eventually they met with Granganimeo, brother of Wingina, the tribe’s leader. Barlowe recorded that Granganimeo “Never mooved from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor never mistrusted any harme to be offered from us, but sitting still, he beckoned us to come, and sitte by him, which we perfourmed:

> and beeing sette, hee makes all signes of joy, and welcome, striking on his head and breast, and afterwardes on ours, to shewe we were all one, smiling and making shewe the best hee could, of all love, and familiaritie. After hee had made a long speech unto us, wee presented him with divers thinges, which he received very joyfully, and thankefully. None of his companye durst to speake one worde all the tyme: onely the foure which were at the other ende, spake one in the others eare very softly." (Durant, p.17) Amadas also visited Granganimeo's village, which he described as "of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made it like a turne pike very artificially: when we came towards it, standing neere unto the waters side, the wife of Grangyno, the kings brother, came running out to meete us very cheerfully and friendly...some of her people she commanded to drawe our boate on the shoare, for the beating of the billoe: and others to bring our oares into the house, for feare of stealing. When we were come to the utter roome, having five rooms in her house, she caused us to sitte downe by a great fire, and after we took off our clothes, and washed them, and dried them againe: some of the women pulled off our stockings, and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, and shee her selfe tooke great paines to see all things ordered in the best manner shee coulde making great haste to dresse some meate for us to eate." (Durant, p.18)

In addition to describing the natives as hospitable and friendly, Amadas and Barlowe even brought two of them, Manteo and Wanchese, back to England at the conclusion of their expedition. Amadas and Barlowe returned from their initial expedition in 1584, and in addition to Barlowe's account of their efforts, the two men spent much time talking up the area as a perfect location for an English settlement that could be both a colony and a base from which to launch attacks against the Spanish in the West Indies.

Raleigh subsequently began to gather backers for a colonial venture in North America, and one of his most powerful allies was Sir Francis Walsingham, the Queen's principal secretary and a vocal backer of colonization efforts. Walsingham was also a supporter of an anti-Spanish

policy that argued England should be even more confrontational in its relationship with Spain. Queen Elizabeth backed the venture, knighting Raleigh and allowing the new territory to be named Virginia in her honor. Elizabeth also helped back the venture financially by investing in the colony and even allowing her own ship, the Tiger, to be the flagship of the colonization effort.

Chapter 3: The First Colonization of Roanoke

On April 9, 1585, the second expedition to Roanoke launched from England, but this time with far grander ambitions than the previous one. The expedition included five major ships and two smaller ships called pinnaces, and this fleet sailed from Plymouth to the Canary Islands before making their way across the Atlantic to the West Indies, and then finally moving up the coast of North America to Roanoke, just as the expedition of Amadas and Barlowe had done. Raleigh was one of Elizabeth's court favorites, so she refused to let him leave with the expedition; instead, it was Raleigh's cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, who headed the colonization effort. Grenville had little experience in colonization, and his role in the expedition was due more to his social standing as an aristocrat rather than as a seasoned veteran of such endeavors. Grenville's second-in-command was Thomas Cavendish, a young man who would later circumnavigate the globe. Third in the command structure was Ralph Lane, an equerry of the queen who planned to stay in the colony as the first Governor of Roanoke. There were 600 men on board the seven ships, and roughly 100 of them would remain at Roanoke colony. Half of the men on board were sailors, which suggests that in addition to establishing the colony, the fleet had a second goal of enriching themselves through privateering activity.

Grenville

Cavendish

A large storm hit the fleet in the West Indies, and they lost one of the pinnaces, forcing the Tiger to stop in Puerto Rico to construct a new one. The need for two pinnaces again hinted at the secondary goal of privateering, because the maneuverability of the extra pinnace would make it valuable for boarding enemy vessels.

The Tiger reached Puerto Rico on May 11th, and by the 23rd they had constructed an earthwork fort within which they built the new pinnace. They then destroyed the fort and went on their way. Although Grenville was inexperienced in colonization efforts, the speed with which the crew of the Tiger built a second pinnace demonstrated the skill and ability of the men under Grenville's command. The *Tiger* then met up with Thomas Cavendish's ship, and along with the newly constructed pinnace, the three ships engaged in privateering activities in the West Indies and trading with

the colonists of the region.

While the time they spent in the West Indies undoubtedly enriched the men aboard the three ships, it also took away valuable time which the colonists at Roanoke could have spent building up their settlement and preparing for the coming winter. A conflict broke out between Grenville and his number three man, Lane, most likely because of this extra time spent in the West Indies, which Lane felt was detrimental to the colonial venture. Lane went so far as to claim that Grenville threatened to execute him for mutiny because he had spoken out to Grenville's council, which consisted of the military and naval hierarchy of the voyage. Grenville commanded with an authoritarian style of management that both failed to utilize the advice of his subordinates and also took on powers that were supposed to belong to others. In addition to Lane, Grenville managed to upset his second-in-command, Thomas Cavendish, who was given the title high marshall and who was supposed to have overall judicial power within the fleet and colony. Lane described Grenville as being tyrannical and having “intolerable pride.” (Kupperman, p.21)

The fleet arrived at the Outer Banks on June 26th and almost immediately began to realize that the site chosen for colonization was not the fantastic place that had been described by Amadas and Barlowe. Roanoke Island was surrounded by shallow sounds, which meant the larger ships in the English fleet were unable to anchor within the protection of the Outer Banks. The fleet found this out the hard way when the Tiger, at 160 tons, attempted to anchor at one location and was forced against the banks to such a degree that the sailors were afraid the ship would sink. They were able to save the Tiger but lost most of the food supplies onboard that were supposed to sustain the new colony. In the end, the larger ships were forced to anchor several miles off shore, which exposed them to the fierce Atlantic storms that periodically swept through the region.

Thanks to the loss of food supplies suffered during the Tiger accident, Grenville was faced with a crisis right away. His original plan seemed to have been to use Roanoke as a privateering base immediately by wintering the fleet there and then launching raids against the Spanish in the West Indies. However, since supplies were already inadequate at this point,

Grenville planned to take the fleet back to England and return the following year. For Lane and the colonists who stayed behind at Roanoke, this meant they would now be tasked with finding a suitable harbor and site that was more conducive to potential privateering activity.

Lane and the colonists at Roanoke constructed the colony utilizing a plan that the English had developed through their experiences in Ireland: the “bawne” village. In this plan, the main building was enclosed in a fort, but the colonists' houses were built outside of the protection of the fort. The colony's livestock would be driven into the fort each night, and in case of attack from the Spanish or native inhabitants, the fort was large enough to hold all colonists. It took roughly a month for the colonists to set up the site at Roanoke, and Grenville sailed for home with the fleet at around the same time at the end of August.

16th century depiction of the fort design probably used by the English at Roanoke

The colony’s position could have been alleviated quickly because Raleigh had decided to send a second fleet in June to carry supplies to the

colonists, so that fleet would have arrived at Roanoke right around the time Grenville departed, and it would have been a boon both to the material well-being and the psyche of the colony. Unfortunately, as the fleet was readying to set sail, Elizabeth diverted it to Newfoundland to warn English ships there that the Spanish had begun to seize English vessels stationed in Spanish harbors. Elizabeth believed this was especially vital because Spain and Portugal were important markets for English fishermen. Thus, when Grenville and the rest of the fleet departed, the colonists were on their own.

When Grenville arrived back in England, he was only able to give Roanoke's backers a lukewarm account of the situation there. Grenville had some evidence of the fertility of the land in the form of various plant specimens, but he had no good news about the region's harbors. Shortly after Grenville had departed, Lane also described the land's fertility in a letter to a friend back home, writing:

> "In the meane while you shall understand, that since Sir Richard Greenvils departure from us, as also before, we have discovered the maine to be the goodliest soyle under the cope of heaven, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gummes, grapes of such greatnesse, yet wilde, as France, Spaine nor Italie have no greater, so many sorts of Apothecarie drugs, such severall kindes of flaxe, & one kind like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there, as grasse is here. And now within these few dayes we have found here Maiz or Guinie wheate, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread 400. upon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect sugar, also Terra Samia, otherwise Terra sigillata. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing Territorie of the world: for the continent is of an huge and unknowen greatnesse, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely, and the climate so wholesome, that wee had not one sicke since we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it. For this already we finde, that what commodities soever Spaine, France, Italy, or the East

> partes doe yeeld unto us, in wines of all sortes, in oyles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch, frankensence, corrans, sugars, and such like, these parts doe abound with the growth of them all, but being Savages that possesse the land, they know no use of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they the West or East Indies, have, here wee finde great abundance of. The people naturally are most courteous and very desirous to have clothes, but especially of course cloth rather then silke, course canvas they also like well of, but copper caryeth the price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and M. H. I have joyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I love dearely well, and commending me most heartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie. From the new Fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585."

Grenville hadn't brought much good news regarding Roanoke itself, but what did excite the investors of the Roanoke venture was the treasure Grenville gained when the Tiger captured a "very richly laden" Spanish ship called the Santa Maria de San Vicente on the return voyage to England (Kupperman, p.27). The Santa Maria held ginger, sugar, and hides, which were all very valuable commodities, but there was also some controversy after rumors swirled that the ship also contained gold, silver and pearls which Grenville did not announce to investors. Even accounting for the potential cargo that Grenville held back, the backers of the second expedition to Roanoke were handsomely rewarded for their efforts thanks to the capture of the Santa Maria. Paradoxically, this actually harmed the efforts of the colonists at Roanoke. Despite the fact the investors had profited from the venture, the fact that the expedition was only profitable because of the privateering efforts of Grenville meant that capturing Spanish ships was seen as a more promising avenue than setting up English colonies in the New World. The shift in focus toward privateering would have harmful effects on Roanoke's future development.

Meanwhile, everyone involved in the planning and execution of the Roanoke colony understood the need to treat the neighboring natives well. The English were well aware of the atrocities that Spanish colonists committed against native inhabitants in Central and South America, and

many English proponents of colonization believed that Protestant Englishmen were not capable of acting in the barbarous manner of the Catholic Spanish. Thus, Roanoke's backers made provisions to punish colonists who acted violently against Indians. For example, in cases of rape, the punishment was death, while those forcing Indians to labor would be faced with three months of imprisonment. Of course, Richard Hakluyt, one of the most famous supporters of England's colonial ventures, noted that establishing good relations with Indians was essential because of the tenuous nature of the settlement at Roanoke. Mistreating their neighbors could lead to a situation in which "the English nation there planted and to be planted, shall be rooted out with sword and hunger" by the region's indigenous inhabitants (Kupperman, p.67).

During the Amadas-Barlowe expedition, it seemed as though good relations between Indians and English were highly probable. Recounting their meetings with Indians upon their return to England, Amadas and Barlowe talked about their encounters with the Roanoke tribe, and especially Granganimeo. The English explorers, in talking about their visit to Granganimeo's village, had written, "We were entertained with all love, and kindness, and with as much bounty, after their manner, as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile, and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age." (Kupperman, p.72). Lane related an early encounter with the natives himself:

> "Betwene Muscamunge and Chawanook upon the left hand as wee passe, thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a Towne which we called The blinde Towne, but the Savages called it Ohanoak, and hath a very goodly corne field belonging unto it: it is subject to Chawanook.
>
> Chawanook it selfe is the greatest Province and Seigniorie lying upon that River, and that the Towne it selfe is able to put 700 fighting men into the fielde, besides the force of the Province it selfe.
>
> The king of the sayd Province is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his lims, but otherwise for a Savage, a very grave and

wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the disposition of his owne men, but also of his neighbours round about him as well farre as neere, and of the commodities that eache Countrey yeeldeth. When I had him prisoner with me, for two dayes that we were together, he gave mee more understanding and light of the Countrey then I had received by all the searches and Savages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with: it was in March last past 1586. Amongst other things he tolde me, that going three dayes journey in a Canoe up his River of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within foure dayes journey to passe over land Northeast to a certaine kings countrey, whose Province lyeth upon the Sea, but his place of greatest strength is an Island situate, as he described unto mee, in a Bay, the water round about the Island very deepe.

Out of this Bay hee signified unto mee, that this King had so greate quantitie of Pearle, and doeth so ordinarily take the same, as that not onely his owne skinnes that hee weareth, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the sayd Pearle, but also his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and that hee hath such quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to see.

He shewed me that the sayd King was with him at Chawanook two yeeres before, and brought him certaine Pearle, but the same of the worst sort, yet was he faine to buy them of him for copper at a deere rate, as he thought."

While the people in charge of the policy all supported the cultivation of good relations with the natives in theory, the makeup of the colonists of the second expedition hinted at the conflicts that would ensue between the settlement and its neighbors in the region. Most of the colonists had experience as soldiers in the campaigns against the Irish, where English tactics centered on the use of terror and violence to pacify local inhabitants. The Irish experience had led ordinary English soldiers to believe the Irish were less civilized than the English and were not to be trusted, so it was only natural that the same beliefs carried over to the

colony at Roanoke. The settlers there continually distrusted the actions of Indians and acted in a way that made potential conflicts between the two groups likelier.

The second expedition assumed that they would receive the same kindness that Amadas and Barlowe had received, but due to the accident aboard the Tiger that cost the colony much of its supplies, it was almost totally dependent on the Native Americans to ensure their survival. In addition to this, soon after landing at Roanoke, a situation arose in which, after a meeting with a village chief at the town of Secoton, Grenville believed they had stolen a silver cup from the English's belongings. Grenville ordered his men to retrieve the cup, and when they were unable to locate it, they "burnt, and spoiled their corn, and Town, all the people being fled." (Kupperman, p.74) Grenville believed that the English had to return any slights with overwhelming force because failing to punish the Indians for any transgressions would reveal the weakness of the English, thus inviting the Indians to attack them.

Nevertheless, after Grenville and the fleet returned to England, there seems to have been no conflicts between the Roanoke colonists and neighboring natives until the spring of the next year. At that time, relations between the Roanoke tribe and the settlers seems to have broken down almost completely. Wingina and the rest of the Roanoke Indians were initially very happy that the English had decided to settle near them, as this increased their status in the region and also gave them access to English trade goods. However, the English taxed the Roanoke tribe's resources to such a degree that the colonists soon became a liability, and the death of Granganimeo meant that the English lost a vocal supporter of the close relationship between the Roanokes and the English. Upon Granganimeo's death, Wingina announced to the English that his name was now Pemisapan. It is unclear why Wingina changed his name upon his brother's death, but it could have been that Wingina developed a war name in preparation for a military engagement against the English.

The colonists were not initially aware that Pemisapan was preparing to declare war on them, and the colony's leader, Ralph Lane, even consulted with him about whether or not to go to the mainland to meet with the chief

of the Choanoke Indians, a man named Menatonon. The reason Lane had to consult with Pemisapan was because of the English's utter dependence on the Roanokes; without Roanoke guides, the English could not make their way inland. After Lane met with Pemisapan, the chief planned to double-cross the English party heading inland by informing Menatonon of the English's movements, but Lane still managed to surprise and capture Menatonon. The English held him for two days until they worked out a settlement in which Menatonon's son, Skiko, was substituted for the Choanoke chief and sent to be a prisoner of the English.

During his two days of captivity, Menatonon seemed to be cooperating with the English and told Lane about resources that the English might be interested in. Lane, in describing the area that the Choanokes inhabited, wrote, "But the territory and soil of the Chesepians [Choanokes], being distant fifteen miles from the shore, was for pleasantness of seat, for temperature of climate, for fertility of soil, and for the commodity of the sea, besides multitudes of bears, being an excellent good victual, with great woods of sassafras and walnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever." (Quinn, p.108)

One site especially interested Lane. This was a place in the northeast that was a deepwater bay. Menatonon was most likely describing Chesapeake Bay, but this was not clear to Lane, who had been tasked by Grenville with finding such a bay. Menatonon made the area sound extremely attractive, most likely because it was close enough that the Carolina Indians could still obtain English trade goods, but far enough that the English would not be a continual burden on their resources. Additionally, Menatonon revealed that the plan to attack the English had been Pemisapan's alone, and he pledged guides and resources for an English expedition to the deepwater bay.

Menatonon also divulged the location of mines to the west in which there were deposits of a kind of copper that was "very soft and pale," making it different from English copper which was "redder and harder". Lane wrote that the natives "[t]ake the said metal out of a river that falleth very swift from the rocks and hills, and they take it in shallow water. The manner is this they take a great bowl by their description as great as one of our

targets [a small shield] and warp a skin over the hollow part thereof, leaving one part open to receive the mineral. That done, they watch the coming down of the current and the change of the colour of the water and then suddenly chop down the said bowl with the skin and receive into the same as much ore as will come in, which is ever as much as their bowl will hold, which presently they cast into a fire and forthwith it melteth, and doth yield in five parts, at the first melting, two parts of metal for three parts of ore." (Quinn, p.112)

Lane eventually decided against exploration of the deepwater bay to the northeast and instead set out to explore the mines to the west. While Lane believed the mines yielded some kind of copper, the possibility that they could be gold mines would have greatly enriched both the colonists and their backers. Thus, Lane left with two boats and 40 men, and though they carried some food with them, they were relying on being fed by Indians they met along the route to the mines. However, when Pemisapan learned of the expedition, he sent messengers to the Indians along Lane's route warning them that the English planned to kill them. As a result, those Indians all evacuated from their villages, carrying their food supplies with them and leaving the English with no source of food once his supplies ran out. Lane explained, "The King was advised and of himselfe disposed, as a ready meane to have assuredly brought us to ruine in the moneth of March 1586. himselfe also with all his Savages to have runne away from us, and to have left his ground in the Iland unsowed: which if hee had done, there had bene no possibilitie in common reason, (but by the immediate hande of God) that wee could have bene preserved from starving out of hande. For at that time wee had no weares for fish, neither coulde our men skill of the making of them, neither had wee one graine of Corne for seede to put into the ground."

Faced with the question of whether to press forward and use up the rest of their supplies or return to their settlement, Lane asked his men to decide. He recounted, "I did refer it to the greatest number of voices whether we should adventure the spending of our whole victual in some further view of that most goodly river in hope to meet with some better hap, or otherwise to retire ourselves back again. And for that they might be the better advised I willed them to deliberate all night upon the matter and

in the morning, at our going aboard, to set our course according to the desires of the greatest part. Their resolution fully and wholly was (and not three found to be of the contrary opinion) that whilest there was left one half pint of corn for a man that we should not leave the search...” (Quinn, p.116)

A short while later, the expedition encountered a group of natives who fired arrows into their boats and then left before the English could land their boats. This attack convinced Lane and his men that it was time to return to the settlement, and their return journey, aiding by the current, only took one day. Upon their arrival back at Roanoke, Lane wrote down the story of the expedition in such heroic terms that leaders of the Jamestown colony years later told the story of the bravery of Lane and his men to buoy the spirits of their own colonists.

Not surprisingly, Pemisapan was surprised to see that Lane and his men had not perished on their expedition. Lane’s guides told Pemisapan that all of the tribes living along Lane’s route had taken indirect means to avoid the English rather than confronting them with military force. Additionally, at this time Lane reported that Menatonon ordered Okisko, chief of the Weapemoeoc tribe, to “yield himself servant, and homager, to the great Werowanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh” (Kupperman, p.82). In actuality, it is doubtful that Menatonon had the power to command Okisko in this way, and the Weapemoeocs ended up fracturing, with half the tribe moving inland to avoid confrontations while the rest decided to support Pamisapan.

Undeterred, Pemisapan and the Roanokes still planned to starve out the English by cutting off supplies to the colonists. The Roanokes stopped selling food to the colonists, and they also destroyed the fishing traps they had set up for them. This action by the Roanokes forced Lane to break up his colonists into small groups trying to live off the land to the best of their abilities, a move that induced Pemisapan to gather a large military force with which to attack the English. Pemisapan was able to do this mainly because he offered neighboring tribes the trade goods that the Roanokes had acquired from the English. The European goods that the Roanokes acquired from the English gave them increased power relative to the other

tribes in the area, and now this power was being used to gather the large force they needed to attack the English.

The plan for the attack against the colonists called for Pemisapan and the Roanokes to capture and execute Lane and his officers, and then to signal a general attack against the rest of the colonists. Lane wrote that the Roanokes had planned to set the roof of his hut on fire, and once he escaped outside, the waiting Roanokes would have "knocked out my brains" (Kupperman, p.85). The gathering of the military forces was supposed to commence on June 10th, but Lane was warned in advance by Skiko, Menatonon's son, who the English still held as a prisoner. Pemisapan had revealed the plan to Skiko, who he assumed hated the English, but Skiko actually liked Lane and his English captors.

Lane planned to counter Pemisapan's plan by alerting the Roanokes that he was going to leave for one of the islands on the Outer Banks to look out for the imminent arrival of an English fleet. He sent a messenger to Pemisapan telling him that Lane would need to "borrow" men to hunt and fish for him while he was away, and that he would also need to purchase four days' worth of corn. Pemisapan tried to delay Lane from leaving and gathered his forces for an attack, but the English responded with a night assault on a number of Indians gathered near their settlement. The natives had been keeping an eye on the English because they were worried about a sneak attack on their position, but the English still managed to kill a few of them before the rest withdrew.

The next morning, on June 1, 1586, Lane and 25 men went to confront Pemisapan. Pemisapan and his council agreed to meet with Lane, but once in the presence of the Indians, the English opened fire. Despite being surprised by this attack, Lane recalled that Pemisapan nearly escaped: "The king himselfe being shot thorow by the Colonell with a pistoll lying on the ground for dead, & I looking as watchfully for the saving of Manteos friends, as others were busie that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started up, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, insomuch as he overran all the companie, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my Petronell. In the end an Irish man serving me, one Nugent and the deputie provost undertook him, and

following him in the woods overtook him, and I in some doubt least we had lost both the king, and my man by our owne negligence to have bene intercepted by the Savages, we met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapans head in his hand." (Kupperman, p.87).

A week later, the English spotted "a great Fleet of 23 sails" off the coast, which turned out to be an English fleet commanded by Sir Francis Drake himself. Drake and his fleet had been away from England for almost a year, and during that time they had been attacking Spanish settlements in the Western hemisphere, most notably Santo Domingo and Cartagena. Drake's stop again showed Roanoke's importance as a potential privateering base, but because of the lack of a suitable harbor, the colony was of little use to the fleet. Still, Drake offered to help the colony and gave Lane two options. Drake offered to give the colonists food and clothing, as well as sailors and boats which Lane could use to complete his objectives to find a suitable deepwater bay that could harbor large ships. Alternatively, the second option was to return to England with Drake's fleet.

Lane decided on the first option, and Drake provided the colony with a 70 ton ship, the Francis, along with six other smaller ships and enough food for four months. On June 13th, however, a huge storm hit the Outer Banks, damaging some of the ships and driving the Francis, which contained a number of Lane's officers as well as their new food supplies, out to sea. While the Francis could have easily returned to the colony even though it lost all of its anchors, the men aboard the ship instead decided to sail to England, thus taking the colony's newly acquired ship and food supplies with them.

After this unfortunate turn of events, Drake offered the colonists another option. He would give the colonists another ship, the Bonner, an inferior ship to the Francis that was apparently not maneuverable enough to be brought into the harbor. Lane discussed this option with his officers, and they decided that "...considering the case that we stood in, the weakness of our company, the small number of the same, the carrying away of our first appointed bark [ship], with those two especial masters, with our principal provisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched

out to take us from thence: considering also that his second offer, though most honorable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibility for her with any safety to be brought into the harbor: Seeing furthermore, our hope for supply with Sir Richard Grenville, so undoubtedly promised us before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this year considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America, that therefore I would resolve my self, with my company to go into England in that Fleet." (Kupperman, p.91)

Drake agreed to take the colonists back to England, and they departed so quickly that the colonists apparently left three men who were on a mission to the interior, which possibly involved returning Skiko to his father. Several hundred slaves who Drake had taken from the Spanish during his raids were also left to make enough room for the colonists to be housed within the fleet. For English commentator Richard Hakluyt, the colonists left "as if they had been chased from thence by a mighty army, and no doubt so they were, for the hand of God came up on them for the cruelty, and outrages committed by some of them against the native inhabitants of that country." (Kupperman, p.92)

Further criticism of Lane's abrupt decision to leave with Drake was confirmed when the first of Grenville's supply ships landed at the Outer Banks shortly after the colonists left. Grenville and his men searched for the colonists, but finding no one and seeing that the settlement was "desolate," they returned to England. However, Grenville decided to leave 15 men behind, along with four pieces of artillery and enough food to last them for one year. It is unclear why Grenville did not just leave the site abandoned, but it seems that he wanted to leave a nominal force behind without committing too many men to take away from his planned privateering efforts. Once again, he had intended to engage in privateering on the same mission that was ostensibly supposed to resupply the colony.

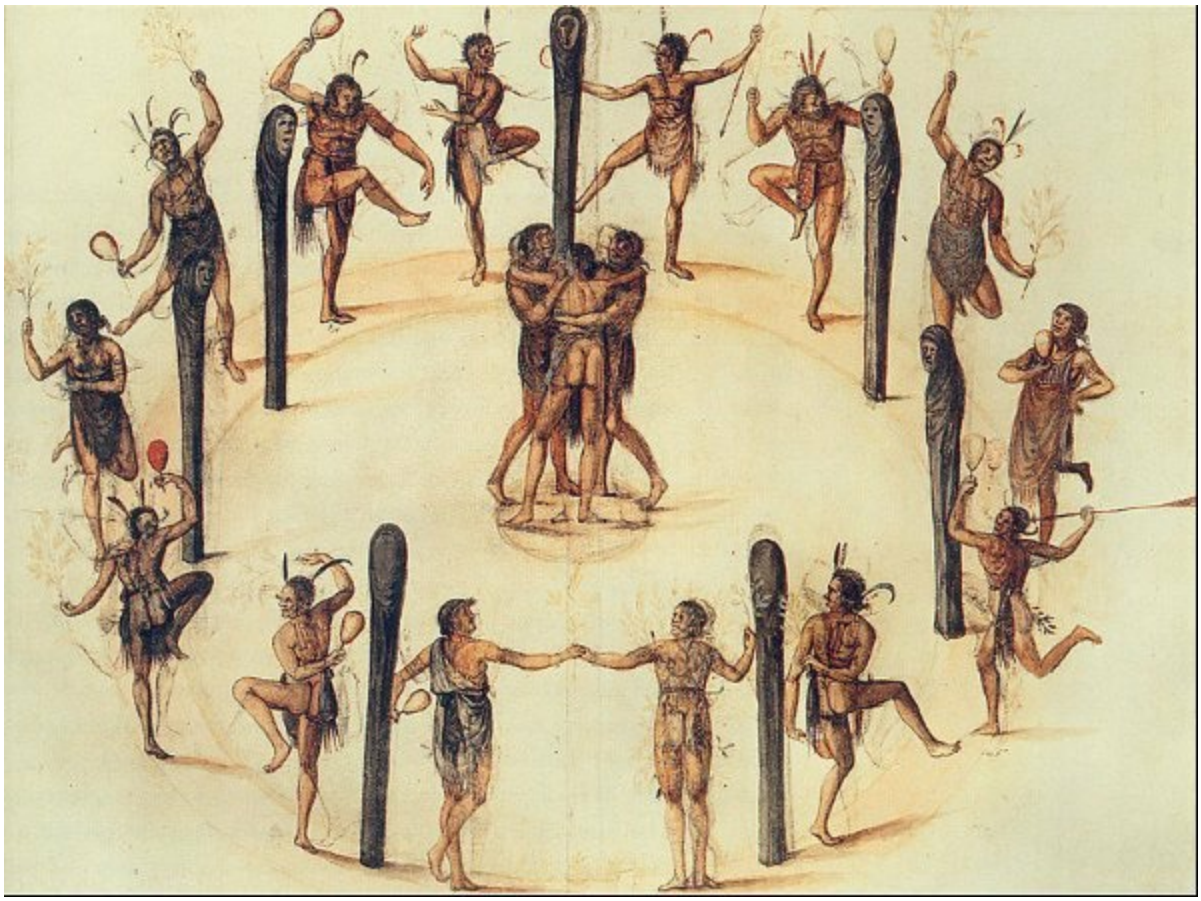
Upon their return, the leaders of Roanoke's colonial venture published their thoughts on the experience. For Lane, the inability to find a suitable port meant that the colony could not function as a privateering base. Instead, he felt that the only way for the colony to be profitable was either through the discovery of gold or by finding the mythical Northwest

Passage, a waterway that cut through North America and connected the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. Lane argued that it would only be worthwhile to develop and improve the land in the area if gold or the Northwest Passage could be found. Another of Roanoke's leaders, Thomas Hariot argued that the area around Roanoke colony could provide many raw materials for the English but that it would be an arduous task to create a permanent colony. In terms of goods that a North American colony could provide the English, Hariot emphasized the promising plants that could be used for England's textile industry, especially a silk-like plant that he felt could produce silk similar to that made in Persia. Hariot also believed there were promising medicines in America that could be adapted for European use, and he reported that grapes and sugar were commodities that might thrive in the semitropical environment around Roanoke.

Chapter 4: The Second Colonization of Roanoke

A third expedition set out for Roanoke from England in 1587, despite the fact that much of the excitement for a permanent colony at Roanoke had dissipated. The fact that Roanoke could not function as a privateering base hurt its appeal, and the failure of colonists to discover gold or other precious metals also dampened the colonizing spirit among would-be backers of the venture. In fact, just a year earlier, Raleigh and Grenville had trouble gathering investors for the relief voyage to supply Lane and the colonists, a voyage that ended up arriving after the colonists had left with Drake. The only returns for backers of the expeditions to Roanoke had come from privateering, and one estimate put the investment sunk into the colony at £30,000.

The third expedition and second attempt at a colony would be headed by John White, a gentleman and painter who had been at Roanoke with Lane during the previous attempt to create a colony there. White chose settlers for the venture that he believed would give the new colony the best chance for success. The colonization effort under Lane had included many former soldiers who had experience fighting in Ireland, but this new venture did not include these citizen-soldiers. Instead, there were 14 families: four included a mother, father, and a child; six were married couples with no children, and four were fathers and sons. Overall, there were nine children and 17 women in the group. All of the colonists were expected to have some money for which to invest in provisions for the effort, and in all 110 colonists made the journey across the Atlantic.



White's painting of the Roanoke

The three ships carrying the colonists left in early spring of 1587, and arrived off the coast of the Outer Banks on July 16th, anchoring at Roanoke on July 22nd. White and some of his men began by traveling to the site of the Lane colony's settlement, where they found the fort "razed down" and no sign of the 15 men who had been left by Grenville to watch over the settlement. They did come across a skeleton which they believed to be the remains of one of the men left by Grenville, and the idea that the neighboring Indians were now extremely hostile to the English seemed to have been confirmed when a member of White's party, George Howe, was killed by Indians while he was out catching crabs.

White next sought to assess whether he could repair relations with the neighboring Indians and sent out a party under Captain Stafford and Manteo, a Croatoan Indian who had lived with Lane's colony and returned to England with them. Upon reaching a Croatoan village and meeting with

its leaders, it seems that the Croatoans wanted to create guidelines for their relationship with the English. They asked Stafford and the colonists “not to gather or spill any of their corn, for that they had but little,” suggesting that they were wary of having to try to feed the colonists (Kupperman, p.115). Stafford answered that the settlers were only looking for friendship and did not want anything else from the Croatoans. Stafford then inquired as to the feelings of other Indian groups in the area. The Croatoans told them that many Indians were upset at the English for their past actions, and that it would be difficult for them to forgive the colonists. The Croatoans also confirmed that the Indians who killed George Howe were Roanoke Indians who were part of Pemisapan’s tribe.

Stafford and his men also learned the fate of the 15 men Grenville had left at the settlement. According to the Croatoans, these men lived “carelessly” and had made themselves vulnerable to an Indian attack. This attack came when 30 Indians approached the settlement and killed an unarmed Englishman. A second escaped and managed to warn the rest of the men, who took shelter in the storehouse where the food and ammunition was kept. The Indians then set the storehouse on fire, and in the ensuing battle, the Englishmen, many of whom were injured, made their way to a boat and rowed out to an island along the coast. After that, they were never heard from again.

This story made clear to White and the new colonists how tenuous their situation was. Their small settlement was faced with the hostility of the Roanoke tribe, and they were clearly going to have difficulty repairing relationships with the rest of the neighboring Indians. The situation deteriorated even further when White decided that he needed to retaliate against the Roanokes for killing George Howe. He sent Captain Stafford and 24 men to the mainland to attack the Roanoke’s main village. Upon arriving, they saw villagers sitting around a fire and attacked, killing one villager and then pursuing the rest into the woods as they attempted to escape. The problem was that these were not Roanoke villagers but friendly Indians from a different area. They had found out the Roanokes from that village had left, and they came to gather their corn, tobacco, and fruit. The people sitting around the fire had included women and children. One woman was saved only because she was carrying a child on her back,

and one man saved himself from being attacked when he called out to Captain Stafford by name.

By this time, the three ships that had brought the colonists to Roanoke were preparing to leave, and the colonists became fearful of their situation. They asked White to return to England to act as their agent and make sure their needs would not be forgotten. The colonists were especially worried because of their deteriorating situation, as they now had no friendly Indians to aid them, especially in providing them food. White eventually agreed to go back, but only after the colonists signed a document stating that he had been asked by them to return to England to help lobby on their behalf. Even still, in describing these events White acknowledged conflict between himself and his colonists. White "alleged, that seing they intended to remove 50 miles further up into the maine presently, he then being absent, his stuffe and goods, might be spoiled, and most of it pilfered away in the carriage, so that at his returne, hee should be either forced to provide himselfe of all such things againe, or els at his comming againe to Virginia, finde himselfe utterly unfurnished, whereof already he had found some proofe, beeing but once from them but three daies." (Durant, p.122)

In other words, the colonists wanted White to return to England on their behalf, but at the same time, they were planning to move their settlement inland, a major undertaking that they were going to attempt to accomplish without their governor. Furthermore, White described a situation in which he had left on an expedition and had some of his belongings stolen while he was away.

White did end up leaving with the fleet, and he made his way back to England by November 1587, but not before the birth of the first European in North America. That August, Virginia Dare was born and baptized in Roanoke.

Depiction of Virginia Dare's baptism

Chapter 5: The Lost Colony

Once back in England, White immediately met with Sir Walter Raleigh and began plans to return to Roanoke with fresh supplies. They eventually planned to put together a fleet of seven or eight ships that would be headed by Grenville and would leave for Roanoke in early spring of 1588, but ultimately this fleet never left for Roanoke. The imperial conflict between England and Spain had reached a boiling point in 1588, when Spain, reacting to the rash of privateering that was sapping its wealth, decided to launch an Armada that would crush England's navy and set the stage for an invasion of the British Isles.

On July 12, 1588, the legendary Armada started for the English Channel. The Spanish plan was to take this invasion, led by the Duke of Parma, to the coast of southeast England, where they would be released to conquer Elizabethan England for the Spanish monarch and Catholic Christendom. The Armada included over 150 ships, 8,000 sailors and 18,000 soldiers, and it boasted a firepower of 1,500 brass guns and 1,000 iron guns. Just leaving port itself took the entire Armada two days, and naturally, the English needed every boat they could muster. As a result, the resupply fleet, along with all other English ships, were forbidden from leaving England and would be utilized to bolster its defenses. The colonists at Roanoke could not be resupplied.

As everyone who has been taught history now knows, the Armada was one of the most famous military debacles in history. Whether it was simple mathematical miscalculation or plain bad luck, coupled with English fire ships assailing the Spanish Armada, the Armada was decisively defeated. By the time the Armada found its reluctant way home in awful conditions, it had permanently lost over a third of the ships. On the Irish coast, the Armada had suffered further losses. Drake's biographer Wood summarized the debacle: "In those ten days the gallant Armada had lost all chance of winning the overlordship of the sea and shaking the sea-dog grip off both Americas. A rising gale now forced it to choose between getting pounded to death on the shoals of Dunkirk or running north, through that North Sea in which the British Grand Fleet of the twentieth century fought against the fourth attempt in modern times to win a world-dominion."

Much of the Armada sailed around the northern tip of the British Isles, where roughly half of the remaining fleet met its destruction due to storms and the rocky coastline, but the English did not know that right away. As a result, English ships remained on guard for the rest of 1588 to defend against the possibility of further Spanish attacks.

Despite the looming Spanish threat in the summer of 1588, White did manage to get permission to use two small ships from Grenville's fleet, and along with new settlers and new supplies, left for Roanoke on April 22, 1588. White knew full well that springtime would be a difficult period for the colonists, as their original food supplies would have been almost depleted by that time and the crops they had planted the year before would not have been ready yet. Furthermore, they could not count on aid from Indians the way Lane's colony previously had.

However, the situation aboard these two ships was complicated by the insistence of the captains and crews that they engage in privateering activity on their way to Roanoke. In the process, the two ships became separated, and one of them, the Brave, ended up in an engagement with two French vessels during which the English lost their food, powder, weapons, and all the supplies intended for the colonists. The captain and first mate of that ship were both killed, and White, who was aboard the Brave, said that he received two head wounds during the battle as well. After the losses they sustained, the sailors on the Brave decided to return to England. A few weeks later, the second ship, the Roe, also returned for similar reasons. As a result, neither boat reached Roanoke, leading White to complain that the "cruel fight" his ship encountered had been due to the "thievery of our evil disposed mariners". He also lamented the failure of the ships to resupply the colonists at Roanoke (Kupperman, p.126)

Despite the setbacks, White continued to try to get a fleet out to Roanoke, and in March 1589 a new corporation was set up to back the colony in America. This corporation provided money and material for a resupply mission, but no ships were sent in 1589. It is unclear exactly why the corporation failed to send a fleet in that year, and in 1590, another ban on ships leaving England was enacted after fears of another Spanish attack on England materialized. White decided to ally himself with John Watts, a

merchant and privateer investor who had three ships grounded just as they were about to leave on a potentially lucrative mission in the West Indies. White suggested that Watts might be able to get the ships out of port if they combined their missions and told the English authorities that the ships would also be carrying supplies and settlers bound for Roanoke. This worked, as Queen Elizabeth allowed Watts' ships to sail, but when the time for departure arrived, Watts failed to live up to their bargain. Rather than carrying settlers and supplies, Watts told White that only White himself would be allowed to go with the fleet. Although White was infuriated by this turn of events, he left with the fleet and documented the initial stages of the journey:

> "The fift voyage of Master John White into the West Indies and parts of America called Virginia, in the yeere 1590.
>
> The 20 of March the three shippes the Hopewell, the John Evangelist, and the Little John, put to sea from Plymmouth with two small shallops.
>
> The 25 at midnight both our Shallops were sunke being towed at the ships starnes by the Boatswaines negligence.
>
> On the 30 we saw a head of us that part of the coast of Barbary lying East of Cape Cantyn, and the Bay of Asaphi.
>
> The next day we came to the Ile of Mogador, where rode at our passing by, a Pinnesse of London called the Mooneshine." (Durant, p.138)

As with his previous attempt to resupply Roanoke, the mission to send White to Roanoke was subordinated to privateering efforts in the West Indies, and the fleet spent most of June and July attacking Spanish shipping around Puerto Rico and Hispaniola. It was not until early August 1590 that the ship carrying White sailed up the coast of North America, and due to storms that delayed their movements, White did not touch down in the Outer Banks until mid-August.

Once White and the crew members reached the settlement, they found it completely deserted. Although the disappearance of the colony is now one

of history's greatest mysteries, White was not entirely surprised by what he found at first. Before he had left for England, White and the colonists had discussed leaving the settlement and founding the city of Raleigh on the mainland, so the fact that the colonists were no longer in the settlement would not have been surprising to White. The colonists also worked out signals to communicate with those who were coming to their assistance. For example, if they left due to an attack, they were supposed to carve a Maltese cross over their doorposts to signal that they were in distress. Alternatively, if they left to try to find a more suitable place, they were supposed to carve the names of the areas they would be traveling through so that White would be able to find them upon his return.

Near the settlement, White found a tree with the letters CRO carved into it. Later, on one of the entrance posts at the settlement, White found "CROATOAN" carved into it. He wrote, "We passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fort-like, and one of the chiefe trees or posts at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5. foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was graven CROATOAN without any crosse or signe of distresse; this done, we entered into the palisado, where we found many barres of Iron, two pigges of Lead, four yron fowlers, Iron sacket-shotte, and such like heavie tihngs, throwen here and there, almost overgrowen with grasse and weeds." (Durant, p.149)

White (and subsequent historians) concluded from what he found that the colonists apparently made an orderly departure, since they had carried away everything except for the large guns that would have been too unwieldy to take with them. The colonists also apparently buried White's belongings to protect them from both Indians and the elements: "The place, which was in the ende of an olde trench, made two yeeres past by Captain Amadas: wheere wee found five Chests, that had been carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the same chests three were my owne, and about the place many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust; this could be no other but the deede of the Savages our enemies."

(Durant, p.150)

Based on the carving he found, White assumed the colonists had left for the villages of the Croatoan Indians, writing that he was "greatly joyed that I had safely found a certain token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the island our friends. “The next morning it was agreed by the captain and myself, with the master and others to weigh anchor and go for the place at Croatoan where our planters were for that then the wind was good for that place." Once again, however, White’s plans went awry. Due to stormy conditions and an accident in which they lost both their anchors and nearly wrecked their ship, they decided to return to the West Indies, get repairs and then return in the spring.

Ultimately, White would not end up conducting a search for the colonists. Weather problems forced the ships out away from the coast, and once they found themselves out to sea, they decided that they were so far east that their best bet was to cross the Atlantic to the Azores, where they believed there would be a large group of English ships waiting for the arrival of the Spanish treasure fleet. They reached the Azores in mid-September, but they were unable to gain supplies there and eventually made their way back to England rather than returning to the West Indies. Although it is unclear exactly why, this was White’s last attempt to reach the colonists at Roanoke. Although White published his experiences with Roanoke colony, from this point forward White focused on the colonization of Ireland rather than that of North America.

The question of what happened to the colonists at Roanoke will never be fully answered because they were never seen again by Europeans, but that has only fueled the speculation over the last 400 years. That said, some of the popular theories can be refuted, particularly the suggestion that the Spanish found the colony and killed the inhabitants. In actuality, the Spanish continued searching for the lost colony almost as doggedly as the English, out of concern that the colony was still somewhere out there and posed a threat to their own New World possessions. Other theories have been fueled with the addition of outright hoaxes, including the early 20th century’s notorious “Dare Stones”, which were carved with explanations

of the fates of certain colonists, including the young Virginia Dare.

At the same time, there were hints as to what became of them. The Virginia Company, which funded the Jamestown colony in 1607, made looking for the lost colonists a top priority because they believed that their experiences could help the Jamestown settlement succeed itself. Upon founding Jamestown, the settlers there heard stories about people who looked like them living with Indians along Chesapeake Bay, and Captain John Smith recounted a story in which Indians told him they had seen people who looked like the Jamestown settlers, leading Smith to believe that these were the lost colonists of Roanoke. Another colonist at Jamestown, George Percy, told of an encounter he had with a native boy who had yellow hair and "a reasonable white skin, which is a Miracle amongst all Savages" (Kupperman, p.137).

Jamestown's leaders sent two expeditions south to try to find evidence that the Roanoke settlers were alive, but by the end of 1608, they had learned that the earlier colonists they had heard rumors about had all been killed. William Strachey, secretary of Jamestown colony, wrote in 1612 that the Roanoke colonists had made their way to Chesapeake Bay, where they had lived peacefully with Indians outside of the territory controlled by the "Great Emperor" Powhatan. Powhatan's priests had prophesied that a rival to his power would emerge from this group, and Powhatan ordered both the English and Indians to be killed. According to Strachey, this occurred right at the time that the Jamestown colonists were arriving, though he claimed that 7 of the Roanoke colonists had escaped and were living to the south with a different group of Indians: "The People have howses built with stone walls, and one story above another, so taught them by those English who escaped the slaughter at Roanock, at what tyme this our Colony (under the conduct of Capt Newport) landed within the Chesapeack Bay,...and where at Ritanoe, the Wewroance Eyanoco preserved 7. Of the English alive, fower men, twoo Boyes, and one young Maid, who escaped and fled up the River of Choanoke, to beat his Copper." (Durant, p.163)

Samuel Purchas, a chronicler of England's colonial ventures, wrote in 1625 that Powhatan himself had confessed his role in the killing of the

settlers to John Smith and had shown him “divers utensils of theirs” (Kupperman, p.138). Even though they believed nearly all of the Roanoke colonists had been killed, the Virginia Company sent instructions to the leadership at Jamestown to find the colonists who were believed to have escaped. It was believed that the survivors lived roughly 50 miles from Jamestown, but apparently the Jamestown colonists never attempted to contact these survivors, and there is no explanation in the documents of the Virginia Company as to why this was.

If the Roanoke colonists did indeed travel north to Chesapeake Bay, it is unclear why White and his crew found CROATOAN carved at the Roanoke settlement. Historian David Quinn has argued that the large majority of Roanoke colonists did indeed leave for Chesapeake Bay and ended up settling there, but he also speculated that the settlers probably left a holding party behind to look out for White and the resupply fleet and to guard the large guns and armaments that could not be taken on the trip to the Chesapeake. Quinn believes it was this holding party, possibly facing the threat of Indian hostility, that left the CROATOAN carvings at Roanoke and then went to live under the protection of the friendly Croatoan tribes. Moreover, excavation teams working on Croatoan Island (now known as Hatteras Island) unearthed a gold ring that they believe was owned by one of the Roanoke colonists, which might be evidence that some if not all the colonists did leave for Croatoan Island, as the carving left at the Roanoke settlement suggests.

Regardless, the English ultimately reached the conclusion that the colonists had assimilated with neighboring Native Americans. In his early 18th century work, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, John Lawson concluded, “A farther Confirmation of this we have from the Hatteras Indians, who either then lived on Ronoak-Island, or much frequented it. These tell us, that several of their Ancestors were white People, and could talk in a Book, as we do; the Truth of which is confirm'd by gray Eyes being found frequently amongst these Indians, and no others. They value themselves extremely for their Affinity to the English, and are ready to do them all friendly Offices. It is probable, that this Settlement miscarry'd for want of timely Supplies from England; or thro' the Treachery of the Natives, for we may reasonably suppose that the English were forced to cohabit with

them, for Relief and Conversation; and that in process of Time, they conform'd themselves to the Manners of their Indian Relations."

Similarly, local legend in North Carolina holds that the Roanoke colonists survived and intermarried with neighboring Indians and that their descendants remain in the area today. The Lumbee Indians of Robeson County, North Carolina believe they are descended from the union of the Roanoke colonists and Indians. One 19th century newspaper article about the Robeson natives reported, “They say that their traditions say that the people we call the Croatan Indians (though they do not recognize that name as that of a tribe, but only a village, and that they were Tuscaroras), were always friendly to the whites; and finding them destitute and despairing of ever receiving aid from England, persuaded them to leave [Roanoke Island], and go to the mainland... They gradually drifted away from their original seats, and at length settled in Robeson, about the center of the county..."

Roanoke was even in the news last year, after scholars looked at parts of White’s map of the region and discovered that it had been patched up at some point. Underneath one of the patches, the scholars found a square shaped symbol that seemed to depict the location of a fort. James Horn, the vice-president of the research team, stated, "We believe that this evidence provides conclusive proof that they moved westward up the Albemarle Sound to the confluence of the Chowan and Roanoke rivers." As the research team put it, “Their intention was to create a settlement. And this is what we believe we are looking at with this symbol — their clear intention, marked on the map..." Since that area is now privately owned, there have been no excavations where the fort was located, making it impossible to prove or refute the theory.

The mystery of the lost colony of Roanoke may never be solved with certainty, but it’s evident that the interest in the unknown fates of the colonists will not disappear anytime soon.

Fort Raleigh Outdoor Theater on Roanoke Island today

Chapter 6: Founding Jamestown

Despite the loss of Roanoke, there were still plenty of reasons for continuing English activities in North America. In fact, for most of the 16th century, England's presence in the New World occurred mainly through the seasonal movement of fishing vessels that made their way to the coast of Newfoundland before returning to Europe with their haul. England seemed uninterested in the exploration and colonization efforts of the Portuguese, Spanish and French until the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, and besides, another major draw of North American exploration was the possibility of a sea-route to Asia. As one Englishman who came across French Canadian settlements in North America stated, he had been looking for "some route through these countries to the sea of the North...This good man related some wonderful things to us about new Mexico. 'I have learned,' said he, 'that one can sail to that country through seas that are north of it. For two years I have ranged the whole Southern coast, from Virginia to Qiunebiqui [Kennebeck], seeking to find some great river or great lake that might lead me to peoples who had some knowledge of this sea which is to the North of Mexico. Not having found any, I came to this country to enter the Sanguene, and penetrate, if I could, with the Savages of the country, to the North sea." (Kupperman, p.157)

Meanwhile, England's efforts were not confined to North America. In fact, North American colonization was just one of many undertakings to expand English commerce and power during the Elizabethan period. English merchants were also involved in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, and English colonization efforts during this period included the creation of plantations in Ireland. Writing in the early 1580s, Sir Philip Sidney described the various people that the English were then dealing with: "In Turkey, besides their law-giving divines, they have no other writers but poets. In our neighbouring countrey Ireland, where truely learning goeth very bare, yet are their Poets held in a devout reverence. Even among the most barbarous and simple Indians where no writing is, yet have they their Poets, who make and sing songs, which they call areytos, both of their ancestors' deeds and praises of their gods...In Wales, the true remnant of the ancient Britons, as there are good authorities to show the long time they had poets, which they called

bards." (Kupperman, p.199)

While Jamestown was England's first successful North American colony, it also needs to be placed within the context of the various English colonial ventures that were planned and carried out in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The most famous failed English colonization efforts included Sir Humphrey Gilbert's attempt at Newfoundland and Sir Walter Raleigh's lost colony of Roanoke, but in the meantime, England's Irish "plantations" at Ulster and Munster created the model around which subsequent colonies would be built. In terms of peopling the colonies, it was believed to be important to send the right kind of people under the leadership of high-ranking men. At the same time, the colonies were expected to be self-sufficient, mainly through commercial agriculture or some other enterprise. After all, colonies were also expected to enrich both private investors and the crown.

The Virginia Company, a joint-stock company of investors based in London, spearheaded the effort to create a settlement at Jamestown. Based partly on the stories that came out of Spanish efforts in the region, the leadership of the Virginia Company believed that gold and other precious metals were likely present in the Chesapeake Bay region, and the Virginia Company's "Instructions given by way of advice" to the settlers at Jamestown included the directive that men should quickly be sent out "to try if they Can find any mineral." A second directive asked the settlers to look for rivers or lakes that would lead to "the passage to the Other sea", thus asking them to find the fabled Northwest Passage. These two instructions revealed the mindset of the Virginia Company's leaders, who planned to recoup their investment in Jamestown either by finding precious metals (the basis of Spain's colonial wealth in the New World) or by finding a western sea route to Asia which would greatly expand commercial wealth.

The Virginia Company's leadership also issued instructions on creating the settlement that would become Jamestown. They wanted the colonists to settle upriver to stay away from possible Spanish surprise attacks along the coast, yet also settle in a location that would be easy for English ships to reach. They also had instructions for dealing with the region's Native Americans. The instructions urged settlers to be careful around the natives because they

might attack them at any time, but at the same time the Virginia Company also recognized the natives as important trade partners, and the Virginia Company's leaders believed the natives near Jamestown would be vital as sources of corn and other food that the settlers could acquire through trade.

Replica of the Susan Constant, the flagship of the fleet that brought the first settlers to Jamestown

The fleet carrying the first colonists arrived in Virginia in the spring of 1607 after a stop in the West Indies, and there were 108 colonists to start the settlement, but problems arose within the colony even before the English had

landed. One major problem involved the leaders of the colony; in an attempt to quell any possible dissention on the voyage to Virginia, the Virginia Company had chosen leaders for the settlement but placed the names of those leaders in a sealed box that would only be opened once the colonists landed at Jamestown. The leaders that were chosen were Bartholomew Gosnold, a veteran explorer; Captain John Ratcliffe; Edward Maria Wingfield, who was elected the colony's first president; Captain John Martin; Captain George Kendall; and Captain John Smith.

THE PORTRAICTVER OF CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH ADMIRALL OF NEW ENGLAND
These are the Lines that shew thy Face but those
That shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee
Thy Faire-Discoueries and Fowle-Ouerthrowes
Of Salvages, much Cwillliz'd by thee
Best shew thy Spirit and to it Glory Wyn:
So thou art Brasse without-but Golde within.

Portrait of Smith

Smith was the only member of the leadership who was not chosen due to his status or connections. Even more problematic, Smith had stirred up conflict on the voyage to North America when he was accused of trying to lead a mutiny. The charges against Smith were so serious that "a paire of

gallowes” were built to hang Smith, who was under arrest for insubordination. To emphasize the gravity of the charges against him, the fleet commander prepared to have Smith hanged as a common criminal rather than as a gentleman. Smith was only saved when Gosnold, along with Reverend Robert Hunt came to his defense. However, by this time Captain Christopher Newport, the fleet commander, and Wingfield had come to hate Smith. Thus, Smith actually arrived in the New World in 1607 as a captive in chains about to be put to death by the crew that sailed to Virginia. However, after the crew arrived, they learned from the charter that Smith had been tasked with being a leader of a permanent settlement. If he had not been chosen to be one of the leaders of the settlement that became Jamestown, the English likely would have put Captain Smith to death before Pocahontas had a chance to save him from her people.

Statue of Newport

Through his command of the fleet, Newport would hold an important

position within the new colony, while Wingfield was elected president once the sealed box was opened and the leadership was revealed to the settlers. Upon landing, the colonists began searching for a place to construct their settlement, and they also began surveying the land and making contact with neighboring Indians. When the English came to Jamestown, the region's two most powerful Native Americans were Powhatan chiefs (and brothers) named Wahunsonacock and Opechancanough. The Powhatan chiefdom was comprised of roughly 30 tribes, and it was the most powerful political unit in the Chesapeake coastal region during the late 16th and early 17th centuries. While the Powhatans controlled the Chesapeake Bay region, they were not all-powerful, and important neighboring tribes included the Algonquians of the Roanoke region to the south, as well as Iroquoian tribes including the Tuscarora, Meherrins, and Nottoways located inland.

Wahunsonacock, as the principal Powhatan chief, was both wealthy and powerful. The tribes under the Powhatan chiefdom were required to pay tribute to Wahunsonacock, and this tribute took the form of food, tobacco, skins, beads, and pearls, which were collected each year and housed in temples. Wahunsonacock also claimed a monopoly on rare goods traded within his territory, mainly European trade goods such as copper and iron goods.

Meanwhile, Opechancanough was the most powerful of Wahunsonacock's relatives, and much of his power was derived from his role as chief of the Pamunkeys, who were considered to be the best warriors in the region. The English at Jamestown estimated that the Pamunkeys had roughly 300 warriors, but in times of war they could muster twice that number due to their alliances with neighboring tribes. Little is known about Opechancanough's life prior to English settlement, but historian James Horn theorizes that Opechancanough may actually have been Don Luis himself because of hints left in descriptions of him by certain Englishmen who lived at Jamestown (Horn, p.25).

Newport led the efforts to explore the area, beginning by sailing along the James River where they made contact with various Indian groups such as the Kecoughtans (who "entertained them very kindly") as well as the Paspeghs (where they were given a warm welcome and were treated to a speech by "an

old Savage" which none of the Englishmen understood), and the Quiyoughcohannocks (whose weroance, Choapock, impressed the English). By their second week in the region, Newport had learned that large, ocean-going ships could sail along the James River until it met the Appomattox River, and that the natives along the James were all friendly. Meanwhile, the site they chose for Jamestown was a marshy peninsula that was set away from the coast, making it safe from possible Spanish attacks, and it was also surrounded by water except for a land bridge at the western edge, terrain that would allow the colonists to defend their settlement should they face a Native American attack. A further benefit came from the fact that the site was also near a deepwater channel, which allowed their ships to anchor near the settlement and made the task of moving goods from the ships to the settlement much easier.

Shortly after their arrival that April, the men of the Virginia Company settled in a marshy area near the present-day James River within the Chesapeake Bay, and they arrived much too late to plant crops. Furthermore, they did not have the wherewithal to undertake the harsh work needed to survive. The men quickly found that it would be difficult to establish a permanent settlement because of the poor weather, the swampy terrain, the natives living nearby, and the general inexperience and ineptitude of the English settlers. The English preferred to mine for gold and spent days laboring to bring tons of gold onto the ship instead of harvesting crops or searching for a better settlement site. As it turned out, the English started mining iron pyrite (fool's gold), not real gold. John Smith was a stern leader who insisted that those who did not work would not eat, but he couldn't find a good source of water even for those who did work.

Once the site for the settlement had been chosen and construction had begun on the fortifications, Newport decided to set out once more to explore in the hopes of coming across either the precious minerals or sea passage that the Virginia Company had instructed him to find. While Newport's first exploration attempt had sailed to the south, this time Newport and his 23 men sailed inland with the hopes of seeing just how far the river would take them. Along the way, Newport and his men once again encountered Native Americans along the river banks. These natives seemed eager to trade with the English, and although they had great difficulty understanding the natives

they came across, Newport did manage to learn of the existence of a great king (Wahunsonacock), as well as mountains to the west that Newport hoped might contain either copper or gold.

On their way back to Jamestown, their belief in the possibility of nearby riches were buoyed when they met a group of Pamunkey who wore copper and pearl ornaments, and whose leader (Opechancanough), had a “Chaine of pearle” that Newport estimated to be worth roughly £300 (Horn, p.51). However, things were not as happy as they seemed; while Newport and his men were enjoying seemingly friendly relations with the Indians they met along the riverbank, an alliance was formed between five tribes who felt threatened by the new arrivals. The Quiyoughcohannocks, Weyanocks, Appomattocs, Paspaheghs, Kiskiacks put forth a combined force of roughly 200 warriors to attack the colonists at Jamestown. The natives made it all the way inside the English encampment and wounded 12 colonists, two of whom would later die. But ultimately, the attack’s power was blunted, and the natives were driven off thanks in large part because of the ships that were anchored near the settlement firing their cannons at the natives and wounding a large number of them.

Upon learning of the attack, Newport and the Jamestown leadership hoped that it had only been perpetrated by the native groups closest to the settlement, and that the natives along the James River remained friendly toward the English. Unfortunately for them, the alliance was made up of a larger group than this. Most likely, Wahunsonacock had ordered the attack in order to test the English and to gauge their strength relative to his warriors. If this was the case, then Wahunsonacock was able to see the danger that the English posed, as a small group of them had managed to fend off a large number of his warriors mainly because of their superior weaponry.

For the English, the outcome of the attack was a renewed emphasis on building strong fortifications. The fort that the English eventually constructed was of a triangular design, with “three Bulwarkes at every corner like a halfe Moone” where cannons were situated (Horn, p.53). Two of these bulwarks faced the river because the English still believed their greatest threat lay in a Spanish attack, and one faced inland in case of future skirmishes with the natives.

With that Newport prepared for his departure back to England with the fleet in late June, leaving Wingfield and the rest of the colonists to survive on their own until resupply ships arrived at Jamestown the following spring. At the time of his leaving, Newport must have believed that he had helped set the colony on course to be a successful and profitable enterprise. In the six weeks since landing on the coast of Virginia, the colonists had built a settlement that was protected against both Spanish and Indian attacks, he had helped explore the region, and the colonists had managed to plant a crop of wheat. Newport would also return to England with specimens of clapboard and sassafras as possible export commodities, and the area around Jamestown had oak, ash, walnut, poplar, pine, and cedar; all of these being types of wood that could also possibly be exported to Europe. Finally, Newport held out hope that the colonists would find either gold or copper, which would immediately turn Jamestown into a success and enrich investors while adding prestige to his own name.

However, the enthusiasm that surrounded Newport's departure quickly eroded as colonists began to die in great numbers beginning in August, just over a month after the fleet set sail for England. By September, George Percy wrote that "Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases as Swellings, Flixes, Burning Fevers, and by warres, ...but for the most part they died of meere famile." He continued that there "were never Englishmen left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie," and that "as wee were in this new discovered Virginia...Thus we lived for the space of five moneths in this miserable distresse, not having five able men to man our Bulwarkes upon any occasion." (Horn, p.57) Although Percy emphasized famine as the cause of many of the deaths, it was actually the polluted water in the rivers around Jamestown that killed most of the colonists. The water was "full of slime and filth," and by drinking it, colonists were affected by salt poisoning, dysentery, and typhoid. By the end of September, roughly 50 men and boys, just half of the original population of the colony, remained, and by the time winter descended on Jamestown, less than forty colonists remained alive.

Along with the collapse of Jamestown's population, the political situation worsened. Among the leadership, Newport had left with the fleet, and Gosnold had died. The remaining members of the council - Ratcliffe, Smith, and Martin - removed Wingfield from the presidency, arguing that he had

been hoarding food for himself while the rest of the colonists starved. Ratcliffe became the new president, but he quickly began acting erratically. In one instance, Ratcliffe condemned a blacksmith named James Read to be hanged for striking him. Read managed to save himself, but only by revealing that George Kendall (a former member of the council) had been planning a rebellion. Kendall was condemned to death, and a couple days later he was executed.

With the political turmoil surrounding Jamestown, John Smith took over the day-to-day operations of the settlement. Smith led efforts to construct houses for the settlers to replace the tents that they had been living in since their arrival in Virginia, and when supplies in the colony ran low, Smith set out to trade with the neighboring natives in an attempt to acquire enough corn to feed the remaining settlers. When the colonists required a second infusion of supplies, it again fell to Smith to trade for food with the Native Americans. While Smith was able to procure supplies for the colonists, his methods in doing this were questionable. For example, during his first trading mission, the Kecoughtans seemed unwilling to trade with Smith, so he had his men launch an attack to show their superior weaponry, thus compelling the Kecoughtans to engage in trade.

Chapter 7: Pocahontas and the Powhatan

The settlers established their fort in the Tseancommacah, a region within the Powhatan Confederacy, and the natives initially lavished the newcomers with food. However, when the English attempted to strong-arm them into supplying more food, war broke out. In a few months, 51 were dead and colonists had to abandon the fort. The English made a futile attempt to raid native settlements, but that only resulted in more deaths. There were nearly 14,000 in the region, with 69 villages that far outnumbered the invaders. The power in the region was the political head of the Powhatan Confederacy, and Chief Wahunsenacawh had his own designs for the English. Many have wondered why the natives would be friendly to the foreigners, but at the time he hoped to use the English to check the ambitions of the Spanish to the south. He knew full well that a few dozen half-starved men were not a threat to him.

In the first months after Jamestown's founding, President Smith (as the company called him) already had experience the natives. In his account of these first days, the *Generall Historie*, he talked about his first up-country expeditions, including when Algonquian-speaking Mannahoack warriors ambushed their party.

> "We demanded why they came in that manner to betray us, that came to them in peace, and to seeke their loves; he [the warrior] answered, they heard we were a people come from under the world, to take their world from them. We asked him how many worlds he did know, he replyed, he knew no more but that which was under the skie that covered him, which were the Powhatans, with the Monacans, and the Massawomeks, that were higher up in the mountaines. Then we asked him what was beyond the mountaines, he answered the Sunne: but of anything else he knew nothing; because the woods were not burnt."[1]

After two more trading trips, Smith went on an exploring mission along the Chickahominy River and was ambushed by 200 Indian warriors. Smith and the two men with him tried to defend themselves, but Smith was captured and his two companions, Jehu Robinson and Thomas Emry, were killed. It is

unclear exactly why Smith was attacked, but it may have been due to his treatment of the Kecoughtans, even though he had managed to trade peacefully with the Chickahominies after he left the Kecoughtan village. Most likely, Wahunsonacock and Opechancanough had heard that Smith was engaging in trading expeditions with various groups of natives and decided to capture and question him.

Whatever the reason, at one point a large group of natives began to surround the English expedition, hurling spears and shooting arrows. Smith fought with his pistol in an attempt to hold them off, but the former mercenary who had survived the Spanish and Turks stumbled into quicksand. The Native Americans pulled him out, and Smith was a captive once again.

The entire reason for John Smith's captivity laid with Pawataw, the paramount chief of the Powhatan. Smith's capture by Pawataw's braves brought him closer to his goal of re-settling the English in another area. Smith had known of these plans; in fact, his whole mission was to bargain with the Powhatan's great chief. The brother of Pawataw, Opechancanough, led the captive Smith to the Werowocomoco, the "royal court" and residence of the Native American "king."

Smith struggled to impress his captors, but he did make desperate attempts. Afraid the chief would have him executed, he gave Opechancanough the most valuable item he had in his possession: "a round Ivory double compass Dyall." Opechancanough was impressed by Smith's knowledge, and Smith had the wherewithal to act like a native shaman, which worked to buy him time, even though the warrior leader thought the behavior of the white man was strange. Smith described the scene:

> "He [Smith] demanding for their Captaine, they shewed him Opechankanough, King of Pamaunkee, to whom he gave a round Ivory double compass Dyall. Much they marvailed at the playing of the Fly and Needle, which they could see so plainely, and yet not touch it, because of the glass that covered them. But when he demonstrated by that Globe-like Jewell, the roundnesse of the earthe, and skies, the spheare of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, and how the Sunne did chase the night round about the world continually; the greatnesse of the Land and Sea, the diversitie of

> Nations, varietie of complexions, and how we were to them Antipodes, and many other such like matters, they all stood amazed with admiration."[2]

Not to be outdone, the Powhatan presented their own cosmological rituals to Smith, where the universe was represented not by a compass but with the arrangement of meal, corn kernels, and sticks. Smith wrote, "Three dayes they used this Ceremony; the meaning whereof they told him, was to know if he intended them well or no. The circle of meale signified their Country, the circles of corne the bounds of the Sea, and the stickes his Country. They imagined the world to be flat and round, like a trencher, and they in the middest. After this they brought him a bagge of gunpowder, which they carefully preserved till the next spring, to plant as they did their corne; because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seede."

Smith was eventually then taken to the town of Orapaks, which was located six miles away. At Orapaks, the men of the village formed a ring and danced around him “in severall Postures” while “yelling out such hellish notes and screeches.” He was then taken to a house where he was given more food “then would have served twentie men.” While at Orapaks, Smith was treated very well. He engaged in conversations with Opechancanough, with Smith telling him about European technology and ways of life, while Opechancanough informed Smith about the lands comprising Powhatan territory as well as of “certaine men cloathed at a place called Ocanahonan, cloathed like me...and that within 4 or 5 daies journey of the falles was a great turning of salt water.” (Horn, p.62-64) In this last statement, Opechancanough seemed to have made mention to Smith of the inhabitants of the lost colony of Roanoke.

At the same time, the natives began questioning Smith about Jamestown and the intentions of the English, to the extent that Smith believed they had captured him in preparation for an attack on the settlement. Meanwhile, the natives offered Smith “life, libertie, land, and women.” Smith, believing that refusing the offer would lead to his execution, instead decided to try to trick Opechancanough by pretending to accept his offer. At the same time, he asked to be able to send a letter to the colonists at Jamestown letting them know he was still alive. Ultimately, his letter described the situation he was in

and detailed the planned attack on the colonists. Smith advised them to “send him such things as he writ for,” most likely trade goods that he could use to appease his captors, and then urged them to make use of “the Mines, great gunnes, and other Engins” of English weaponry that would show the natives that attacking the fort was not a good idea.

Three warriors went to Jamestown to deliver the message, and they returned in a few days with the trade items that Smith had asked for. Since the natives had no written language, they were at a loss to explain how exactly Smith had communicated with the colonists at Jamestown. Their answer was that Smith was somehow using magic, and this made him seem more powerful to them and increased his status among them. In reality, the natives were not actually planning an attack on Jamestown. Instead, they were most likely gauging Smith and trying to determine whether or not he was an important leader within the settlement. When the three warriors sent to deliver Smith’s message returned with trade goods, it seemed that the English were paying a ransom for him, and that he was indeed an important man within the English colony. Because he was judged to be of a sufficient rank, Smith was allowed to enter into his next meeting, which was with the paramount Powhatan chief Wahunsonacock.

Smith was marched to what he believed to be the chief’s house in the village of Pamunkey, and there he encountered a ritual to show the power and importance of Wahunsonacock: “a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on the one side, as on the other, on the one they caused him to sit, and all the guard went out of the house, and presently came skipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coale, mingled with oyle; and many Snakes and Wesel skins stuffed with mosse...the skins hanging round about his head, backe, and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voice and a rattle in his hand.” (Horn, p.65)

The ceremony continued for three days after which Smith was feasted by Opitchapam, the brother and heir to Wahunsonacock. And finally, after this, Smith was taken to Werowocomoco, where he met with Wahunsonacock himself. Smith was the first Englishman to meet Wahunsonacock, and he would later write that Wahunsonacock had a “grave and Majesticall countenance” that “drave me into admiration to see such a state in a naked

Salvage." Wahunsonacock invited Smith and his men to live "in a Countrie called Capahowasicke" that was near Werowocomoco, and he also offered to provision Smith and his men in return for copper and iron goods. Finally, they would be guaranteed their safety, and in return, Smith and his men would have to acknowledge Wahunsonacock as their lord and become subordinate people within the Powhatan chiefdom.

John Smith counted on the use of the natives' perceptions of European "magic," or at least that's what he interpreted as their reactions. He thought that his own relation to Lord Newport, provisional leader of the Virginia Company, would assist his negotiations with the Powhatan. He also thought that discussions about the "mighty" English and their "king of many lands" (King James I) would impress the natives. Lastly, he tried to put fear into the hearts of the Powhatan through the use of English horns, telling the natives that King James could send men to war with the blast of his brass trumpets.

In some ways, Smith was partly correct in his earliest estimations of English influence. He correctly judged the impression he had made on the Powhatan; when he was surrounded by warriors, he seemed unafraid, which the natives interpreted as magical. He was also to link his story of English power and Lord Newport's return with an old prophecy; the native soothsayers had prophesied about a man who would come from the East and destroy the Powhatan.

Smith's attempt had followed a precedent set by men like Cortes and Columbus, European imperialists who attempted to control native populations by convincing them their arrival was in line with certain native myths. This was occasionally accomplished through outright distortion:

> "A sensitive reading of the sources associated with the early identification of cannibalism in the Americas [shows] that aesthetic judgments often replaced firm evidence as proof of the heinous practice among one ethnic group or another. Each European colonizing country sought to further its nationalist ideology and aims through the construction or tailoring of myths. The English made use of the legend of Madoc, but the Spanish under Cortes reshaped Mesoamerican beliefs in the return of Quetzalcoatl, an important god. Cortes likewise invented out of whole cloth speeches

> supposedly delivered by Montezuma that identified the Spanish as the rightful rulers of the land and the Aztecs as their appreciative caretakers who now turned it over to them with delight. [The colonists asserted] that the natives understood them to be returning gods. These clear fictions served the aims of establishing the colonists' legitimate title to the land and often sovereignty over the local peoples and demonstrating that the natives immediately appreciated the inherent superiority of the Europeans...With this understanding, the effort by John Smith to force Powhatan to kneel so that he could crown him in the name of the English king, and Powhatan's resistance to it, take on fresh meaning."[3]

The matter of John Smith's own description of events also deserves fuller scrutiny, as those descriptions carry within them the meaning of Smith's own contact with other non-white "heathens" in the "wilderness" of "Tartary." As one writer put it, "Smith himself negotiated the triangulated reality of the Atlantic world by relying on Ireland to illustrate Turkey and on Turkey to depict Virginia."[4] When he recounted his first contact with Pawataw, he described the mats of the Powhatan in like terms, saying "If any great commander arrive at the habitation of a Werowance, they spread a Mat as the Turkes doe a Carpet for him to sit upon."[5] He showed the world to readers as they imagined the world of non-whites to be. Smith's contact with Islam greatly influenced how he wrote about native America.[6]

The most famous event in Smith's life is one of the least understood. According to legend, Smith met Pocahontas in the court of King Powhatan. Based on what he wrote in his 1616 letter to Queen Anne and *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* in 1624, Pocahontas saved him from being executed by the Native Americans. Writing in the third person in his 1624 account, Smith wrote, "two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could layd hands on him [Smith], dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines. Pocahontas the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death ..."

A 19th century painting that depicts Pocahontas saving John Smith's life. The influence of America's 19th century Indian Wars is apparent, since the Powhatan didn't use teepees and there are no mountains in that region of Virginia.

Smith's account of Pocahontas saving his life is similar in his 1616 letter and his 1624 account, but some have noticed that his earliest writings don't mention the famous story. This has led some to believe that Smith exaggerated the event or simply made it all up years later. At the same time, however, Smith wrote accounts of the story at a time when his contemporaries would have known the truth, including Pocahontas's husband John Rolfe. Since his earliest writings were mostly about the geography of the region, scholars have by and large accepted that he had no reason to write about the Pocahontas story in the initial accounts, and that his 1616 letter and 1624 account were based on a true story.

Smith's time as a captive allowed him to spend more time with Pocahontas,

who was about 15-16 years old at the time. Powhatan finally granted Smith his release, but this was not the end of his contact with Pocahontas. Smith explained in his 1616 letter to Queen Anne that Pocahontas made herself a constant guest in Jamestown itself:

> "Jamestown with her wild train she as freely frequented, as her fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three years, she next under God, was still the instrument to preserve this colony from death, famine and utter confusion; which if in those times, had once been dissolved, Virginia might have lain as it was at our first arrival to this day...Since then, this business having been turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at: it is most certain, after a long and troublesome war after my departure, betwixt her father and our colony; all which time she was not heard of."

A 19th century painting depicting Jamestown settler John Rolfe and Pocahontas

Today, historians relying on native oral legends and other knowledge do not believe that Pocahontas actually saved Smith's life. They think Smith unwittingly endured a ritual that served as a mock execution and functioned as an event through which Pawataw adopted him and made him a werowance (subordinate chief) and heir to territory in the tidewater regions of the Powhatan Confederacy. Ultimately, as a result, Smith was able to secure food and supplies for the Jamestown colony, which was threatened by starvation.

If Pocahontas was even present at all, it seems that she showed up during this ritual. Pocahontas was probably playing the role assigned to her by her

father and was not acting on her own accord, as Smith seemed to describe. Wahunsonacock had decided to spare the lives of the settlers by bringing them into his chiefdom. This would allow him to have access to European trade goods, which would increase his prestige both among his own people and in relation to the other tribes in the region.

Regardless of what actually happened, Smith's writings often make the teenaged Pocahontas seem like the second coming of Charatza. As one historian notes, "[His]...use of words such as 'prefigure' and 'prototype' indicates the tangled chronology at work; Smith supposedly encountered both Charatza ... long before he saw Pocahontas, but he wrote about the Turkish lady ... long after he met Pocahontas. It is difficult to say with certainty who prefigured whom. The two ladies, Turkish and Algonquian, shadow each other much like Smith's twined narratives of Turkey and Virginia."

Chapter 8: Boom and Bust

Now that Smith had unwittingly become a member of the Powhatan chiefdom, he was freed and allowed to return to Jamestown. For the colonists at Jamestown, Smith's return must have seemed like a miracle. Some of the men must have hoped that Smith would bring back information on gold mines in the region or that he had solidified trade relationships with the natives that would allow them access to food supplies, but others, like the settlement's leadership, were apprehensive of his return and wondered what role he played in the deaths of the men who had joined him in his expedition. A further question was whether or not he remained loyal to the colony.

Meanwhile, during Smith's time in captivity, the colonists had suffered through a period with low levels of supplies. Jamestown's leadership even seriously considered abandoning the settlement and returning to England. Before they could carry out plans for a return to England, Smith had returned to Jamestown, and on the same day, Newport arrived with "neare a hundred men well furnished with all things [that] could be imagined necessary." (Horn, p.75). The 100 hundred men who arrived with Newport in his ship, the *John and Francis*, and with Francis Nelson in the *Phoenix* became referred to as the "first supply." The infusion of men brought the total number of settlers in Jamestown to 140, but with the new arrivals, the colonists had to build new structures, especially housing that would be adequate for all of them.

During the summer and fall, the colonists went about building new houses and repairing the existing buildings. However, in early January, all of this work was undone when an accidental fire burned through Jamestown, destroying the church, kitchen, storehouse, houses, and most of the supplies. Only three houses were spared from the fire, and the rest of the settlement was burned to the ground. The fire forced the colonists into depending yet again on food provided by neighboring natives.

With the desperate situation in Jamestown, Smith's presence became even more important because Wahunsonacock frequently sent gifts of bread and raccoons to him. Smith wrote that "Such acquaintance I had amongst the Indians, and such confidence they had in me," that they would not come near the fort until he first came to them, and they would not trade with the

colonists until first giving presents to Smith. The only other Englishman that the natives acknowledged was Newport, and this was only because Smith had referred to his “greatnesse”. Thanks to Smith’s descriptions of him, the natives had come to see “him [Newport] the chiefe, the rest his children, Officers, and servants.” (Horn, p.76)

Smith and Newport traveled to meet Wahunsonacock and managed to obtain 250 bushels of corn, which was enough to feed the colonists for the rest of winter and into the spring. Thus, with the safety of the colonists seemingly secure for the near future, Newport decided to return to England with the fleet, taking Gabriel Archer, Edward Maria Wingfield, and a native named Namontack with him.

Jamestown’s greatest success during John Smith’s time there came while he was occupying the role as contact person with the Powhatan -- the “Cape Marchant.” During this time, he extensively traded with Pawataw and established a system of exchange and credit with the natives. He also happened to be further exploring up the Chesapeake Bay at the same time too. While he sought to locate the passage to the “Southern Sea” and the route to China and India, he mapped the margins of Pawataw’s empire, eventually creating the first map of Virginia. From 1607-1609, he sailed 3,000 miles into the bay, and his voyages entered the Patapsco, Patuxent, and Potomac rivers. Every movement along the way was filled with contact with Native American villages, all of which were ringed with wooden walls. This was the realm beyond the Powhatan, and Smith could see in their defenses that these independent kingdoms meant to stay this way.[7]

The work he produced to document his success in the years 1606-1608 went by the title *A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Noate as Hath Hapned in Virginia.* While he wrote the work to document his own successes in Virginia, and to support his idea for the later-colonization of New England (which he named), Smith’s work has attracted less recognition of his creation of a trade system with the natives. Instead, critics have aimed their skepticism at his omission of the Pocahontas story.[8] Yet this omission, along with other events of his early Virginia life, supports the interpretation of his true intention for this book. John mainly meant to sell the system that had created success. A careful look at his explanation of relations

with the Powhatan demonstrates the effect of his past experience with war in southern Europe against the Turks.

> "Smith scholars have ignored the fact that the captain's famous report is not simply a narrative but a narrative- *cum*-map. The two were meant to form one argument. In this light, the letter's plot of events actually serves to reveal structural space rather than collapse it. Events and spatial topology determine, without being reduced to, each other. … We need only acknowledge the special prominence that the narrative gives its two major sites, James Fort and Werowocomoco...It encourages the reader to see Smith not only generically, as a major player in the Tidewater theater, but also as one embedded in a number of quite different space-scopes—trading, reconnaissance, soldiering, and gift diplomacy. In particular, it is Smith's explicit interest in cartographic positioning that forms the basis of my reevaluation of his complex self-fashioning and his involvement in the gift mode. The argument of this essay, therefore, will bring together… Smith's interest in narrative, territory, and the cultural capital of kindness. The three are intimately related."[9]

Smith’s map of Virginia

Smith produced his map of Virginia during his time plotting a return to Jamestown, and he did so without the permission of the settlement company in his 1624 account. Scholars have noted the omission of the colony from the map, and the illustrations of Native Americans stand out prominently. In addition to Powhatan in the upper left corner, a warrior dominates the foreground of the upper right corner, and Smith’s map suggests that the central characters of the narrative of the New World are the Native Americans he met in his travels. Rather than an indication that Smith understood or appreciated their humanity, a better explanation for his use of them might simply be that he was having troubles with the Jamestown colony at the time.

His descriptions of communication with Pawataw are also telling. Each conversation took place within a framework of trade, but in John’s relation of

the subject matter, the theme of gift-giving-as-an-act-of-kindness dominates. For every inconclusive negotiation between English trader and Indian trapper, John found a voice for his own program of trade by the insertion of his own philosophy into the mouth of Pawataw. He has Pawataw say at one point:

> "What will it availe you to take that by force you may quickly have by love, or to destroy them that provide you food. What can you get by warre, when we can hide our provisions and fly to the woods? whereby you must famish by wronging us your friends. And why are you thus jealous of our loves seeing us unarmed, and both doe, and are willing still to feede you, with that you cannot get but by our labours? Thinke you I am so simple, not to know it is better to eate good meate, lye well, and sleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merry with you, have copper, hatchets, or what I want being your friend: then be forced to flie from all, to lie cold in the woods, feede upon Acornes, rootes, and such trash, and be so hunted by you, that I can neither reste, eate, nor sleepe; but my tyred men must watch, and if a twig but breake, every one cryeth ther commeth Captaine Smith: then must I fly I know not whether: and thus with miserable feare, end my miserable life, leaving my pleasures to such youths as you, which through your rash unadvisednesse, may quickly as miserably ende, for want of that you never knowe how to find?"[10]

In fact, the characteristics of Smith's map came about because he had personal troubles brewing in the colony by 1609. Despite the way he characterized his exploration, Smith was unable to find gold, and the inability of the colonists in Virginia to find precious minerals emphasized the contrast between Jamestown and the Spanish New World colonies that enriched that nation: "It was the Spanyards good hap to happen in those parts where were infinite numbers of people, who had manured the ground with that providence, it affoorded victualls at all times. And time had brought them to that perfection, they had the use of gold and silver, and the most of such commodities as those Countries affoorded; so that what the Spanyards got was chiefly the spoyle and pillage of those Countrey people, and not the labours of their own hands...But we chanced in a Land even as God made it,

where we found onely an idle, improvident, scattered people, ignorant of the knowledge of gold or silver, or any commodities, and carelesse of any thing but from hand to mouth, except ba[u]bles of no worth; nothing to incourage us, but what accidentqally we found Nature afforded." (Horn, p.97)

Upon his return, Smith took on the presidency of the colony, and though some colonists disagreed with the way he went about things, Smith had been instrumental in building relationships with the neighboring Indians and his successful trade trips had brought vital supplies of corn to the colony. But Smith had only been president at Jamestown for a month when Newport arrived in mid-October with fresh supplies and with power that challenged Smith's since he was the Virginia Company's direct representative in Jamestown. Newport's objectives, as outlined by the Virginia Company, clashed with those of Smith. For Smith, the goal was to ensure the survival and self-sufficiency of the colony, but Newport's task was "not to returne [to England] without a lumpe of gold, a certainty of the south sea or one of the lost company of Sir Walter Rawley", the latter being a reference to the missing Roanoke colonists. (Horn, p.104).

The conflict brewing between Smith and Newport eventually came out into the open during a council meeting in which Newport explained his intentions to travel into the interior, where he would enact a "coronation" of Wahunsonacock that would cement his relationship with the English. Smith was against this plan, but Newport argued that Smith only opposed the coronation because he wanted to carry it out himself. Furthermore, Newport cited Smith's aggression toward the natives he met during his voyages of discovery, and how it now seemed that he was trying to block Newport from succeeding and taking power away from him. Smith lost the argument, and Newport set out on his mission to see the coronation of Wahunsonacock through.

Because of his relationship with Wahunsonacock, Smith was chosen to travel to Werowocomoco to inform the chief that the English king had brought him gifts and that he should come to Jamestown to receive them. Wahunsonacock's reply showed the way he viewed his relationship to England's king, stating that "If your king have sent presents, I also am a king, and this land, 8 daies I will stay [at Werowocomoco] to receave them. Your

father [Newport] is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your fort, neither will I bite at such a baite...” (Horn, p.106). Smith returned to Jamestown, and Newport had little choice but to agree to Wahunsonacock’s terms and travel to Werowocomoco.

Newport, along with Smith and 50 armed men, made his way to Werowocomoco to meet with Wahunsonacock, who only agreed to the coronation when the Englishmen’s native interpreter guaranteed that he would not be harmed. Wahunsonacock wore the clothing that Newport had brought for him, including a “scarlet cloake and apparel”, but the coronation turned comical when Wahunsonacock refused to kneel, which was crucial for his crowning. After “any perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tired them all,...by leaning hard” on Wahunsonacock’s shoulders, they managed to get him to kneel enough so that they could place the crown on his head (Townsend, p.78). The Englishmen accompanying Newport and Smith then fired a volley from their muskets in tribute to the newly crowned chief, but the noise caused “the king [to] start up in a horrible feare”. Once he realized that no harm had been done, he thanked the English and then “gave his old shoes and his mantle [cloak] to Captain Newport.” (Horn, p.107)

What had actually occurred between the two groups was up for interpretation, and each side came away with a different understanding of the coronation. For the English, the coronation showed their recognition that Wahunsonacock was the head of the Powhatan confederacy, but it also symbolized his submission and alliance to the English king, James I. For Wahunsonacock and the natives, the meaning was far different. Wahunsonacock had made the English come to him and give him gifts, and in return he had done nothing for them. He had also confirmed his power in the eyes of his people by receiving the crown that had been given to him by the English. The crown and other presents he received were sent to the temple at Orapaks and were seen as symbols of his influence over the English. From that point on, once a year, Wahunsonacock would go among his people with the crown on his head, and he would give gifts of beads to them, again confirming his power and prestige. Wahunsonacock did not see himself as a subordinate of King James; in fact, he was in the process of planning an offensive against Jamestown.

The conflicts between Newport and Smith continued after the farcical coronation ceremony. Newport continued with this orders to find gold even though Smith was vocally opposed. Newport drafted 120 men to join him, and they set out into the interior. Smith was left with only 80 men within the settlement, and he was angered that the number of colonists remaining at Jamestown had been heavily reduced. Furthermore Smith considered himself to be the most experienced explorer among the Englishmen and thus was not happy to have been left behind.

Newport's expedition was a complete failure. He traveled roughly 50 miles into the interior and found no gold, although they found a small quantity of silver. On their way back, they had failed to obtain corn from the Powhatans. Smith, focusing mainly on the fact that they had failed to trade for corn, and with supplies running low, set out with a barge and made his way upriver with 20 men to trade with the Chickahominies, who had a previous trade relationship with the English. This time, the Chickahominies refused to trade with him, most likely because their own corn supplies had been taxed by trading with the English, and Smith resorted to threatening the Chickahominies that his intention was to get revenge for his earlier imprisonment at the hands of Wahunsonacock. The Chickahominies backed down, and Smith was able to return with a large quantity of corn.

As winter began to set in, Smith set off on another provisioning run, but he was only able to get a small quantity of corn. The English quickly discovered that Wahunsonacock had enacted an embargo against trading corn to the English. Smith decided to confront the Powhatan chief, and the ensuing conversation, recorded by Smith, provided a lengthy dialogue by Wahunsonacock. In terms of his relationship to Smith and the English, he stated that: "Captaine Smith...some doubt I have of your comming hither, that mamkes me not so kindly seeke to relieve you as I would; for many do informe me, your comming is not for trade, but to invade my people and possesse my Country, who dare not come to bring you corne, seeing you thus armed with your men. To cleere us of this feare, leave abord your weapons, for here they are needlesse we being all friends and forever Powhatans." (Horn, p.120)

Wahunsonacock then discussed his fears of the English and their presence

on Powhantan lands: “Captaine Smith you may understand, that I, having seene the death of all my people thrice, and not one living of those 3 generations, but my selfe, I knowe the difference of peace and warre, better then any in my Countrie. But...this brute [rumor] from Nansamund that you are come to destroy my Countrie, so much affrighteth all my people, as they dare not visit you: what will it availe you, to take that perforce, you may quietly have with love, or to destroy them that provide you food? What can you get by war, when we can hide our provision and flie to the woodes, whereby you must famish by wronging us your friends; and whie are you thus jealous of our loves, seeing us unarmed, and both doe, and are willing still to feed you with that you cannot get but by our labours?” (Horn, p.121)

According to Smith, he replied: “Powhatan, you must knowe as I have but one God, I honour but one king; and I live not here as your subject, but as your friend, to pleasure you with what I can: by the gifts you bestowe on me, you gain more then by trade; yet would you visite mee as I doe you, you should knowe it is not our customes to sell curtesie as a vendible commoditie. Bring all your Country with you for your gard, I will not dislike of it as being over jealous. But to content you, to morrow I will leave my armes, and trust to your promise. I call you father indeed, and as a father you shall see I will love you, but the small care you had of such a child, caused my men [to] perswade me to shift for my selfe.” (Horn, p.122)

This would be the last conversation that Smith and Wahunsonacock would have. After the conversation ended, Wahunsonaock left with his wives and children. Smith had lost influence in his relationship with Wahunsonacock, and this relationship had been crucial to his power at Jamestown and his election to the presidency. Upon his return to Jamestown, he ordered that any man who refused to work would not be fed. This, along with Smith’s lack of success trading for food, led to discontent within Jamestown that nearly led to a mutiny.

In early May 1609, Samuel Argall had been sent to find a faster route to Virginia by sailing along a more northerly direction. He made his way across the Atlantic in nine weeks, but what he found upon his arrival was that Jamestown was in a state of “great confusion.” Because the men who made up the colony were mainly ex-soldiers, even though the colony teetered on

the brink of starvation, many men continued to refuse to sow their own crops or do any sort of work. Argall's ship provided the colonists with fish and biscuits that helped them survive until a resupply fleet reached them. This fleet, which set off in June 1609, was a huge undertaking, and in addition to bringing supplies to Jamestown, it also brought an additional 500 colonists. This was a major investment by the Virginia Company in the colony at Jamestown, and the hope was that the fleet would bring stability to the colony and set it on the path toward future success.

Unfortunately, the fleet encountered problems during the Atlantic crossing. 32 people died on one ship, the *Blessing*, during the voyage, while a second ship, the *Diamond*, was reported to have had the "plague in her." To make matters worse, a powerful storm hit the fleet, and the fleet's flag ship, the *Sea Venture*, nearly sank. The *Sea Venture* was able to limp its way to Bermuda, where its passengers and crew were forced to land, but the storm had damaged the ship beyond repair, so it would be some time before the members of the *Sea Venture* were able to leave that island. Six ships from the fleet were able to make their way to Jamestown, but the storm had left its mark: "Some [had] lost their Masts, some their Sayles blowne from their Yards; the Seas so over-raking our men sicke, and many dyed, and in this miserable estate [they] arrived in Virginia." (Horn, p.164)

Meanwhile, the much-anticipated provisions had also been ruined by the storm, forcing Smith to send 180 men out in two groups to try to forage and trade for food. With the new arrivals, there were now roughly 400 men at Jamestown, and with the difficulty feeding the existing men, not to mention the new arrivals, Smith realized that the colony was in a dire predicament once more.

During a visit to see how one of the groups was doing, Smith fell asleep in his boat and a lighted match fell into his lap and set off his powder bag, which exploded and burned "his flesh from his bodie and thights, 9 or 10 inches square in a most pitifull manner." (Horn, p.169) It is unclear if this incident was accidental or had been planned in advance. The colony was already in a state of conflict, and the two groups sent out of Jamestown included a number of Smith's political rivals. Even before the incident incapacitated Smith, the Virginia Company understood the problems of

leadership going on at Jamestown, and in an attempt to solidify the colony's leadership, they sent a high ranking member of the aristocracy to oversee the colony: Sir Thomas West, twelfth Baron De La Warr, who would be the colony's first lord governor and captain general.

Smith returned to England for treatment in October 1609, even as his replacement from England was arriving in Jamestown. Smith was already plotting his return to the New World at the time, but as fate would have it, he would never return to Virginia. The leadership of Jamestown drew up a list of his abuses in office, which they believed would discredit him in the eyes of the Virginia Company and end his association with them. That would indeed occur, and though he did not yet know it, Smith's role at Jamestown had come to an end.

The winter of 1609-1610 was arguably the most dire time for Jamestown's colonists. That winter, the colonists starved so badly that many died and some even allegedly resorted to cannibalism. One settler reported that the settlers were ″...driven through insufferable hunger to eat those things which nature most abhorred, the flesh and excrements of man as well of our own nation as of an Indian, digged by some out of his grave after he had laid buried there days and wholly devoured him; others, envying the better state of body of any whom hunger has not yet so much wasted as their own, lay wait and threatened to kill and eat them; one among them slew his wife as she slept in his bosom, cut her in pieces, salted her and fed upon her till he had clean devoured all parts saving her head...″ The settlers were also so worried about being attacked by natives that one arriving Englishman reported, "Viewing the fort, we found the palisades torn down, the ports open, the gates from off the hinges, and the empty houses (which owners had taken from them) rent up and burnt, rather than the dwellers would step into the woods a stone's cast off from them to fetch other firewood. And it is true, the Indians killed as fast without, if our men stirred but beyond the bounds of their blockhouse..."

Graves marked off by arachaeologists working on historic Jamestown

The winter was so bad that the settlers who were still at Jamestown actually abandoned the site and sailed back to England. Jamestown would not continue as a settlement again until the arrival of De La Warr. Upon his arrival in 1610, De La Warr made his first task the establishment of order within the colony. He then sought to stabilize the leadership by creating a council that would advise him on matters of colonial governance. De La Warr set out strict rules: crimes such as murder, sodomy, rape, adultery, treason, and theft were all punishable by death. Lesser offenses like slander drew a penalty of whipping and galley service. With his military background, De La

Warr set out to transform the colony along lines of military discipline. De La Warr emphasized rebuilding the fort and making sure the settlement was self-sufficient.

In terms of the work that colonists were expected to do, under Smith it had been “4 hours each day…, the rest in pastimes and merry exercise.” Under De La Warr, the labor regime was described in these terms: “It is to be understood that such as labor are not yet so taxed but that easily they perform the same and ever by ten of the clock they have done their morning’s work: at what time they have their allowances [of food] set out ready for them, and until it be three of the clock again they take their own pleasure, and afterward, with the sunset, their day’s labor is finished.” (Morgan, p.88)

LORD DELAWARE.

Portrait of De La Warr

Chapter 9: Stabilizing the Situation

In terms of his policy toward the Powhatan chiefdom, De La Warr first attempted to negotiate a peace with them, but he also wanted to punish certain warriors who had stolen weapons from Jamestown and had killed four Englishmen in an area around the settlement. Wahunsonacock's response showed his anger at the English. He wanted the settlers to "depart his Country, or confine themselves to James Towne only, without searching further into his Land, or Rivers, or otherwise, hee would give command to his people to kills [the English], and doe...all the mischiefe, which they at their pleasure could...[No further messengers should be sent to him] unlesse they brought him a Coach and three Horses, for hee had understood by the Indians which [had been] in England, how such was the state of great Werowances, and Lords in England, to ride and visit other great men." (Horn, p.185)

The relationship between the English at Jamestown and the Powhatan chiefdom quickly deteriorated to the point of war, which would continue sporadically over the next four years. De La Warr oversaw a summer offensive that included attacks on the Kecoughtans, Paspeheghs, Chickahominies, and Warraskoyacks, and these offensives took the form of roving bands of 50-100 men who would surprise villages and kill as many natives as possible. They would then gather that village's corn and then burn down the buildings before returning to Jamestown. The goal was to ensure the survival of the English at Jamestown while forcing nearby natives into starvation with the coming of winter. The attacks were supposed to pacify the natives located closest to Jamestown and allow the colonists to focus on finding gold or silver mines and searching for a river passage through the continent.

Even though De La Warr waged a successful campaign against the neighboring Indians, things were deteriorating within the settlement. Roughly 33% of the population died during De La Warr's first six months in charge, and discontent with De La Warr's methods led some miners to steal a boat and attempt to escape the colony, for which they were hanged. Eventually, De La Warr became afflicted by illness, and in March of 1611, he left for Nevis, in the West Indies, where he hoped the warm climate would allow him to recover his health. Instead, problems with the current and headwinds

forced his ship to eventually cross the Atlantic, where De La Warr returned to England.

In London, De La Warr had to explain his governance to the Virginia Company leaders, and the picture he painted of the situation at Jamestown was less than stellar. But luckily, the fate of Jamestown did not depend on De La Warr's testimony; instead, the Virginia Company had decided to reinvest in the colonial venture and had been preparing for a new expedition to Jamestown that would be led by Sir Thomas Dale. Dale left for Virginia in March of 1611 with 300 men and enough supplies to last the colony for one year. Dale was an experienced soldier and leader, having gained experience during the conflicts in the Netherlands (against Spain). Dale had received his knighthood by progressing in the ranks of the military, and he had been recommended to take over the Jamestown project by prominent men within the Virginia Company.

Portrait of Dale

Dale's first acts in charge at Jamestown were to fix the two problems that had plagued the colony since its inception. He sought to establish authority and order over the colonists, and he wanted to pacify the natives of the Powhatan chiefdom. Dale enacted "Martiall discipline" and detailed the roles and responsibilities of the colonists, as well as the punishments that would be enacted should they fail to fulfill these roles and responsibilities. Some of his harshest punishments were used on settlers who attempted to run away to live with the natives. Dale captured some runaway settlers the year after he took command and, in order to make an example of them, "Some burned, Some...broken upon wheels," and others were hanged or shot.

Dale also oversaw repairs to the fort, church and storehouse, and he also created two forts along the Henry and Charles Rivers, where the men stationed there would produce corn and also raise cattle and hogs. Dale then led an expedition against the Nansemonds, who were the only real threat left among the natives within Jamestown's vicinity, and along with 100 men in full armor, the English fought Nansemond warriors, burned their villages, and took their corn. Meanwhile, Dale expanded the English presence further and further inland, eventually threatening the power of Wahunsonacock and the Powhatans.

A further success against Wahunsonacock occurred during a trading expedition along the Potomac River in 1612 and 1613, when Captain Samuel Argall and his men managed to kidnap Pocahontas, Wahunsonacock's favorite daughter. Sending a message to Wahunsonacock, Argall demanded he return weapons stolen from Jamestown, as well as release English prisoners he had been keeping. When Wahunsonacock failed to reply to Argall's demands, Dale marched 150 men to the Powhatan's main village. In the ensuing exchange, Wahunsonacock agreed to return the weapons and prisoners, as well as providing a quantity of corn, but that didn't mean Pocahontas would return. Pocahontas would be Dale's "child, and ever dwell" with the English, and in return the English would cease all hostilities and live in peace with the Powhatans.

A further event helped the peace when colonist John Rolfe asked to marry Pocahontas. Both Dale and Wahunsonacock agreed to the request, and the two were married on April 5th, 1614. To the English, the marriage symbolized

a new friendship with the Powhatans, but for Wahunsonacock, the marriage represented his awareness that he was unable to dislodge the English from his lands. The peace was, in his eyes, a truce that was beneficial to both parties.

Smith relayed what happened to Pocahontas as relations between Jamestown and the local natives disintegrated, an unfortunate breakdown that took place after Smith had left Jamestown. Smith wrote to Queen Anne:

> "About two years after she herself was taken prisoner, being so detained near two years longer, the colony by that means was relieved, peace concluded; and at last rejecting her barbarous condition, she was married to an English Gentleman, with whom at this present she is in England; the first Christian ever of that Nation, the first Virginian ever spoke English, or had a child in marriage by an Englishman: a matter surely, if my meaning be truly considered and well understood, worthy a Princes understanding."

Today, of course, Smith's account begs several questions. When the Powhatan Confederacy and Jamestown settlers entered into open conflict, Pocahontas was essentially kidnapped by the English and held prisoner in an effort to get the natives to stop fighting them. Smith's letter to Queen Anne suggests it worked after holding her for about 2 years in captivity. In that sense, Smith was giving Pocahontas credit once again for the colony's success, since her presence and captivity may have spared them from being wiped out by the natives. At the same time, however, the letter does not explain why Pocahontas would've decided after those two years to assimilate with the whites.

A 1619 engraving that depicts Pocahontas might explain why she chose to assimilate. In the English engraving, Pocahontas is treated poorly by her own tribe and wonderfully by the English. The engraving shows Pocahontas being tricked by a native and his wife into going aboard Captain Samuel Argall's ship. This is a reference to the fact that Pocahontas was supposedly taken captive after being led to the captain's boat by Native Americans who were not loyal to Powhatan. But after she is taken captive, the engraving depicts Pocahontas being feted on the ship with a feast in the center right side of the engraving. In the background, the engraving shows the English attacking a Native American village, a result of negotiations over Pocahontas breaking down.

The English engraving was almost certainly a self-serving account of why

Pocahontas may have preferred their company, but legend also claims that the fighting between the two sides came to an end when Pocahontas herself pleaded with the Powhatan Confederacy to make peace, during which she told them to put down their weapons and let her live among the English.

Not surprisingly, the Native Americans have disputed this version of events for centuries. Even today, the oral legends of the Mattaponi claim that Pocahontas was snatched by the English and that her husband, a native named Kocoum, was murdered by the English. Historians still debate whether Kocoum even existed, or if it was a nickname that actually referred to John Rolfe. Regardless, what is clear is that Pocahontas was married to John Rolfe in 1614, even though history and legend have often replaced Rolfe with John Smith himself. For his part, Rolfe claimed in a letter that he truly loved her, and that he hoped to marry her to help her convert, writing that he was “motivated not by the unbridled desire of carnal affection, but for the good of this plantation, for the honor of our country, for the Glory of God, for my own salvation... namely Pocahontas, to whom my hearty and best thoughts are, and have been a long time so entangled, and enthralled in so intricate a labyrinth that I was even a-wearied to unwind myself thereout…”

Pocahontas and Rolfe apparently lived together in the colony for the next two years, and their marriage apparently calmed tension between the English and the Native Americans. The fighting stopped and trading started up again. But in 1616, the Virginia Company of London decided their interests would be best served by bringing Pocahontas to England and displaying her as a symbol of the converted and “tamed” Native American. Of course, this narrative was far likelier to bring in other investors than the fact that the settlement had been warring with Native American tribes for years. The company also spiced up its description of Pocahontas; the famous 1616 engraving of Pocahontas included text that read, "Matoaka, alias Rebecca, daughter of the most powerful prince of the Powhatan Empire of Virginia". The emphasis that Pocahontas was a princess made its way around England; one Englishman who saw her in London claimed that she "carried her selfe as the daughter of a king", and Smith’s accounts frequently referred to her as a king’s daughter as well. While this would seemingly make Pocahontas all the more impressive to the Englishmen, her marriage to Rolfe would also give

the English a potential pretext to claim Powhatan's kingdom itself.

MATOAKA ALS REBECCA FILIA POTENTISS. PRINC. POWHATANI IMP. VIRGINIÆ.
Ætatis suæ 21. A. 1616.
Matoaks alis Rebecka daughter to the mighty Prince Powhatan Emperour of Attanoughkomouck alis virginia converted and baptized in the Christian faith, and wife to the worp: Mr. Joh: Rolfe.
S. Pass: sculp:
Compton Holland exc.

The English portrait of Pocahontas depicts her as an Englishwoman

Smith had followed the progress of Pocahontas from savage princess to Christian wife, and he visited her in England. Referring to himself in the third person, Smith described the encounter:

> "Sir Thomas Dale made an important voyage back to London in the spring of 1616. His purpose was to seek further financial support for the Virginia Company and, to insure spectacular publicity, he brought with him about a dozen Algonquian

> Indians, including Pocahontas. Her husband and their young son, Thomas, accompanied her. The arrival of Pocahontas in London was well publicized. She was presented to King James I, the royal family, and the rest of the best of London society. Also in London at this time was Captain John Smith, the old friend she had not seen for eight years and whom she believed was dead. According to Smith at their meeting, she was at first too overcome with emotion to speak. After composing herself, Pocahontas talked of old times. At one point she addressed him as ‘father,’ and when he objected, she defiantly replied: ‘Were you not afraid to come into my father's Countrie, and caused feare in him and all of his people and feare you here I should call you father: I tell you I will, and you shall call mee childe, and so I will be for ever and ever your Countrieman.’ This was their last meeting.”

This is where the story of Pocahontas and Smith seemingly ends, with Pocahontas seeing him, refusing to speak to him, and then finally speaking to him angrily before making her peace with him. She was dead within a month, falling ill as she and Rolfe boarded a ship to head back to Virginia. It’s unclear what killed her, but Rolfe claimed her last words were "all must die, but tis enough that her child liveth". Pocahontas was reputedly buried under St. George’s Church in Gravesend, England, but the church burned down in the 18th century. It’s unclear where she was buried.

Statue of Pocahontas outside St. George's Church today

Though Pocahontas had died, her memory lived on through the persistence of Smith, who wrote to Queen Anne "asking that so great a Queen should do her some honor more than she can imagine, for being so kind to your servants and subjects, would so ravish her with content, as endear her dearest blood to effect that, your Majesty and all the Kings honest subjects most earnestly desire." He had asked for more than the inheritance of her children; he had claimed a place for her inheritance in history.

By 1616, the peace between the Powhatan Indians and the English at

Jamestown had held for two years, and the English presence in Virginia now consisted of six settlements. Still, even though the colony had expanded physically, there were only 351 colonists, and the lack of population growth belied the large number of immigrants that had been sent by the Virginia Company to Jamestown. Between 1609 and 1616, roughly 1,500 settlers had made the trip, and manpower continued to be what the colony most needed: "Good and sufficient men, as well of birth and quallyty to command: souldiers to march, discover and defend the Country from Invasions: as [also] artificers, Labourers and husbondmen: with whom were the *Collony* well provided; then might triall be made, what lieth hidden in the womb of the Land: the Land might yerely abound with corne and other provisions for mans sustenaunce: buildings, fortifications and shipping might be reared, wrought and framed: commodyties of divers kindes might be reaped yerely, and sought after: and many thinges...might come with ease to establishe a firme and perfect Common-weale." (Horn, p.236)

Meanwhile, the Virginia Company utilized the period of the peace with the Powhatans to offer land grants to potential settlers, and through the enticement of these land grants, between 150 and 160 settlers came to Virginia in 1617. At the same time, huge tracts of land were granted to men such as Thomas Argall, Thomas Smyth, and Edwin Sandys. As the population problems seemed to be getting better, the issue of finding a commodity to help the colony turn a profit also began to get better. Key to this was John Rolfe, whose experiments with tobacco led to a breakthrough in which milder Spanish tobacco plants were planted in Virginia and replaced the harsher indigenous plant that the colonists at Jamestown had unsuccessfully attempted to introduce to the English market. For Rolfe, "The esteemed weed...thriveth there [in Virginia] so well that no doubt but after a little more triall and expense in the curing thereof, it will compare with the best in the West Indies." (Townsend, p.130)

With Rolfe's discovery, tobacco seemed poised to be the product that would finally make the Virginia colony profitable. By 1618, they managed to ship 20,000 lbs to London, bringing a profit of £5,250 for investors, which was not a large return but was much more than the colony had previously been able to bring in for the Virginia Company. Tobacco cultivation in Virginia spread, and growing numbers of settlers began growing tobacco

alongside foodstuffs to produce a lucrative cash crop. This set the stage for the tobacco revolution, which would transform Virginia's economy and society.

Naturally, as the English expanded their territory, renewed conflicts began with the natives. In 1616, Wahunsonacock was rumored to have left his capital at Orapaks because he feared Opechancanough was trying to oust him as head of the Powhatan chiefdom, and by 1618, Opechancanough had gained sufficient power to take control of the chiefdom. He continued the policy of peace with the English, but all along he was looking for an opportunity to reignite the conflict with them. In 1622, the Powhatans began a rebellion against the English that started in March when a group of Indians pretending to want to trade instead attacked settlers in areas bordering Indian villages. The attack killed 347 settlers. Meanwhile, 500-600 warriors swept through the English settlements along the James River. Opechancanough's strategy had actually utilized the English settlers' belief in their superiority against the natives; they did not believe Opechancanough could plan such a coordinated strike, and the manner in which it surprised the settlers in Virginia was similar to that of the Spanish missionaries half a century earlier during the attack against that wiped out their religious mission.

The colony's leaders responded with renewed raids on the natives in a similar manner to those conducted by Dale, but the decisive battle occurred in the summer of 1624, when a force of 60 fully armored Englishmen confronted approximately 800 warriors in Pamunkey territory. During the subsequent two day battle, the English colonists' superior firepower allowed them to kill a large number of warriors while sustaining only light losses. The overwhelming victory by the English was a turning point in the conflict. While fighting would flare up from time to time over the next eight years, the defeat of the Pamunkeys signified the decline of the Powhatan chiefdom.

The English did not come out unscathed, however. Opechancanough's uprising ultimately led to the downfall of the Virginia Company. The losses to the colony were insurmountable for investors of the joint-stock company, and although Virginia's economy would rebound through tobacco cultivation, the initial phase of colonial development had come to an end. Jamestown would continue as a settlement, but more influential sites in Virginia would

crop up as the English continued colonizing it. By the end of the 17th century, there was already a new capital in the colony, and Jamestown itself was mostly abandoned by the middle of the 18th century.

In recent years, archaeological work has helped unearth much more about the original settlement site than historians anticipated. A sea wall erected at the turn of the 20th century prevented erosion from destroying much of the historical sites around Jamestown, and arachaeologists have been unable to unearth everything from part of the original fort to a graveyard. Academics continue to discover more as their work keeps going, including one recent discovery that they may have found the remains of De La Warr himself.

While that work continues to keep Jamestown in the news, there's no question that the legacy of Jamestown will long endure. The 300th and 400th anniversaries were both celebrated with festivities, and Jamestown is still remembered as the first successful English settlement in the New World, something that paved the way for American history to unfold as it has.

Remains of historic Jamestown

Bibliography

Durant, David. Raleigh's Lost Colony. New York: Atheneum, 1981.

Hariot, Thomas, John White and John Lawson (1999). *A Vocabulary of Roanoke*. Horn, James. *A Land As God Made It: Jamestown and the Birth of America*. New York: Basic Books, 2005.

Giles Milton (2000). *Big Chief Elizabeth*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux: New York.

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Allanheld, 1984.

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. *The Jamestown Project*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Miller, Lee, Roanoke: *Solving the Mystery of the Lost Colony*

Morgan, Edmund. *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Ltd., 1975.

Quinn, David Beers. The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590 (2 volumes). New York: Dover Publications, 1990.

Townsend, Camilla. *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004.

---

[1] Smith, *Generall Historie*, Book III.
[2] Smith, *Generall Historie*, Book III.
[3] "Clinging to the Coast," 554-555.
[4] "The White Othello," 145.
[5] "The White Othello," 145.
[6] "The White Othello," 150.
[7] "Captain John Smith's Voyages of Exploration"
[8] "A True Relation by Captain John Smith" (with Introduction)

[9] “Mapping the Gift Path: Trade and Rivalry in John Smith’s True Relation”
“Mapping the Gift Path: Trade and Rivalry in John Smith’s True Relation”
[10] “Colonialism and Coherence," 437, *Generall Historie*, quoted from 2:196. In bk. 3, chap. 10.